BAHIAN SOCIETY IN THE MID-COLONIAL PERIOD: THE SUGAR PLANTERS, TOBACCO GROWERS, MERCHANTS, AND ARTISANS OF SALVADOR AND THE RECÔNCAVO, 1680-1725

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABNRJ	Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro
ANRJ	Arquivo Histórico Nacional do Rio de Janeiro
AMB	Arquivo da Camara Municipal da Bahia
APB-SH	Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Secção Histórico
APB-SJ	Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Secção Judiciaria
ASCMB	Arquivo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia da Bahia
BNRJ-SM	Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Secção de Manuscritos
DHBNRJ	Documentos históricos da Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro
HAHR	Hispanic American Historical Review
IHGB-RJ	Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro
MHRJ	Museu Histórico do Rio de Janeiro
PAN	Publicações do Arquivo Nacional
RIHGB	Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileira
RIHGBa	Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia
RPH	Revista Portuguesa de História

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the sugar planters, tobacco growers, merchants, and artisans of Salvador, Bahia and its agricultural Recôncavo in the period 1680 to 1725. The work draws on a variety of archival as well as published sources, but principally on the rich notarial records housed in the Bahian state archives. The systematic use of these registers to look at as broad a segment of society as possible for a manageable length of time was suggested and inspired by James Lockhart's Spanish Peru.[1]

The methodology employed combines collective biography and the use of representative case studies. Biographical data was gathered for approximately two thousand persons who resided in Bahia for a portion or all of the years between 1680 and 1725. The subjects are studied within the context of the four broad sectors of economic activity with which they were associated: sugar production, tobacco growing in conjunction with small-scale cattle raising, commerce of all forms, and the crafts and trades. Economic sectors were used as an organizing framework and individuals were classified initially by their functions because this system was broad enough to encompass most individuals or family groups and, at the same time, allowed the most refined distinctions among social elements.

It should be made clear from the outset that this social history is selective. Its central concern is free society and, while the role of blacks and pardos within each branch of the economy is assessed, it includes no comprehensive treatment either of slavery or of blacks and pardos as a discrete subject. Furthermore, royal officials in Bahia, ecclesiastics, the professional military, and the letrados are largely excluded from this study, although individual members of these professions appear throughout as they became integrated into the socio-economic groups described.

In developing the general theme of social diversity and complexity an initial objective is to indicate as precisely as possible the variety and hierarchy of social types that fell within each broad category of economic activity. Then, where feasible, comprehensive socio-economic and political profiles of the most visible sugar planters, tobacco growers, merchants, and artisans are constructed in order to (1) ascertain the origins and describe the formation of each major group, (2) detail the economic functions and interests of its members, and (3) assess social status and political roles. Where possible biographical information is quantified or, alternatively, representative case studies are selected to suggest trends.

The resulting composites of social types facilitate a re-examination of often stereotyped figures such as the plantation lord and the colonial merchant. They further provide a basis for analyzing the composition of certain institutions such as the city council and the militia command, for evaluating continuity and change within Bahia's

local elite, and for describing important intermediary social elements that were neither part of the elite nor part of the region's large slave population.

Another objective is to identify the areas and nature of movement within the social structure. The combining and changing of economic functions at various points in the socio-economic hierarchy is described and changes in function are related to social and political status. At the same time, some general conclusions are formulated about the principal vehicles of and limits to mobility in colonial Bahia.

Finally, this study proposes to assess social change in the period 1680 to 1725 and, in particular, to evaluate the impact of economic change on society as a whole. It is well known that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the expansive years of sugar were past and that a crucial economic development was the opening of the mining centers in the interior of Brazil. Because of its immediate inflationary impact on coastal trading, and specifically on slave prices, mining aggravated the problems of sugar producers. And, in the long run, the mining of gold and diamonds and the emergence of Rio de Janeiro as a major outlet for these precious commodities brought about a shift in Brazil's economic and political center from the Northeast to the South.

It is argued here that despite the ruin of some sugar planters in face of rising costs and a stagnant market, the planter class as a whole coped with and survived its economic problems to

maintain both the plantation structure and its own social and political dominance intact. How this was accomplished is described.

It is further argued that despite the lack of growth in the sugar sector and certain negative effects felt with the opening of the mines, the early eighteenth century brought prosperity and expansion to Bahia in two areas. The growing slave trade, which increasingly relied on Bahian tobacco as a means of exchange, and the burgeoning supply trade to the mines greatly benefitted Salvador's resident community of merchants and, at the same time, accelerated the growth of an important group of agriculturists in the tobacco district of Cachoeira.

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Bahian colonial society has been the subject of scholarly inquiry for some time. Among the general works the influential writings of Gilberto Freyre and Caio Prado Júnior permanently shaped subsequent views of social organization in the Brazilian Northeast in identifying the foundations of that society in plantation agriculture, slavery, and patriarchalism. Although their approaches vary in important ways, these writers portray a society of extremes, of masters and slaves. They share an awareness of elements that fit neatly into neither extreme, but they return to the dichotomy as a means for understanding social organization. Prado's suggestive survey of late colonial economic sectors introduces a wide range of socio-economic types, yet for the most part he assigns them marginal status as scattered and unconnected clusters overpowered by the

patriarchal clans. Alternatively he lumps them together as an immense and unclassifiable mass sandwiched between the organized poles of masters and slaves.[2]

Even more recent interpretive works addressed to social organization in the Northeast argue, in one way or another, that economic dependence on Europe, slavery, plantation agriculture, a hierarchy of estates, or the seigneurial ideal inhibited internal differentiation and social change. There is little consensus about whether social formation is best understood in the context of European capitalist expansion, or in a feudal or pre-capitalist framework, or in some variant of these, but there is a general tendency to reduce the resulting social structure to simplistic categories and to describe its components in terms of one-dimensional stereotypes.[3]

In contrast to the general and interpretive works, a number of specialized studies are together revealing a society of substantial complexity. The years immediately preceding and following the quartenary celebration of the 1549 founding of Salvador initiated a particularly productive period for the study of local history. Especially noteworthy are the works of Wanderley Pinho, Pedro Calmon, Carlos Ott, Thales de Azevedo, Affonso Ruy, and Marietta Alves, which laid the groundwork for a number of social topics including family history, artisanry, immigration and folklore, demography, and racial and cultural mixture (see the bibliography). More recently Anita Novinsky has used the records of the Inquisition

to examine the role of New Christians in Bahia in the first half of the seventeenth century, and she is pursuing the same subject for the eighteenth century. J. R. Amaral Lapa has contributed a monograph on Bahia's shipbuilding industry and its workers, and he has made accessible two very important late colonial memorials on the tobacco region.[4]

Following the suggestive and wide-ranging research of C. R. Boxer, foreign scholars have directed their attention to various social groups and institutions in the last decade. A. J. R. Russell-Wood has written a history of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, and his understanding of changes that occurred within that prestigious sodality has raised important questions about the changing composition of the Bahian elite in the eighteenth century. Stuart Schwartz's ongoing research has covered many topics including plantation society and, together with the work of Katia Mattoso, slave manumissions. Schwartz's fine history of the high court in Bahia delves into numerous social themes and examines the close ties forged between the judges of that tribunal and the local elite.[5] In addition, a recent dissertation by Susan Soeiro provides a history of the convent of Santa Clara and analyzes the role of women in colonial society, while David Grant Smith has written an important thesis on the merchants of Lisbon and Salvador in the seventeenth century.[6]

Together these works are building a more sophisticated understanding of the composition and dynamics of colonial society. They are refining the views of social organization offered by the

theorists and generalists by drawing attention to long-neglected or stereotyped groups, by emphasizing the importance of urban as well as plantation society, and by elaborating the composition of that amorphous social center between masters and slaves. The present study of Bahia's mid-colonial sugar planters, tobacco growers, merchants and artisans is intended to complement recent research and break ground in some areas. It differs from the projects mentioned above in its comprehensive use of a largely untapped historical source, in its concentration on a period that has not received in-depth analysis, and in its focus on several social groups rather than on one.

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For more than two centuries the city of Salvador served as the seat of colonial government in Brazil, a port of considerable commerce, and an entryway into the vast Brazilian interior. Its immediate hinterland, the Bahian Recôncavo, supported a rich agricultural economy devoted principally to sugar and tobacco production and, to a lesser extent, to the cultivation of food crops and stock raising. In modern times the Bahian Recôncavo has been delineated as a geo-economic zone occupying some 12,000 square kilometers surrounding the Bay of All Saints and extending inland as far as 200 kilometers at some points. The region exhibits internal variations in topography, climate, and soil, but its abundant rainfall and tropical vegetation, as well as its relative fertility, contrast sharply with the dry, barren regions beyond its limits.[7] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Bahians concentrated on the intensive development of the rich lowland massapé located near the shores of the bay and accessible to the port of Salvador by water transport. It was here that men with sufficient resources established sugar plantations consisting of both the mills where cane was processed into sugar and the supplier cane farms managed by tenants and independent landowners.[8]

In contrast to the rapid occupation of the coastal lowlands, it took much of the seventeenth century to secure for settlement the inland portions of the Recôncavo beyond the sugar zone. This outer belt was part of a larger area extending from the captaincies of Ilheus and Porto Seguro as far north as the district of Itapororocas where isolated cattle ranches suffered periodic assaults by semi-nomadic and unpacified Indian tribes (gentio bravo). Various early and mid-century punitive and peace-making expeditions (entradas) brought only temporary relief from attack. It was not until 1671-1674 that a new series of expeditions led by Paulista adventurers, their Bahian collaborators and Indian allies destroyed many of the bases from which the Indian assaults were launched. These efforts, together with those of a few private land developers, finally secured for settlement a wide belt of territory including the inland Recôncavo. The region proved suitable for tobacco growing, and the increasing commercial importance of that commodity in the last half of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries converted the district of Cachoeira west and northwest of the bay into one of the richest tobacco-producing regions in the world.[9]

The relations between the Recôncavo and the city of Salvador (formally founded in 1549) were always close, in part because a good system of navigable waterways facilitated communication. The city was a distributing point for European goods and African slaves destined for the Recôncavo, for other coastal settlements, and for the interior. At the same time, sugar, tobacco, cane brandy, brazilwood, and hides were exported abroad through the port of Salvador, and the urban population provided an important market for foodstuffs and other items produced locally.

Until 1763 Salvador was the capital of Brazil, and for much of the colonial era it was the seat of Brazil's only archbishopric and high court of appeals (Relação). To the end of the seventeenth century the Salvador municipal council served as the local administrative and judicial center for the entire Recôncavo. Even after the creation of five new Recôncavo councils between 1698 and 1727, certain of the rural inhabitants maintained close political and economic ties with the capital, where they sat on the Salvador council, held bureaucratic posts, borrowed money, and cultivated the good will of the governor general and crown ministers. With its numerous churches and sodalities the port was a focal point of social and religious activity, and, throughout the colonial period, the richer landowners and planters purchased fine townhouses (sobrados) in the breezy upper level of the capital, where they spent part of each year.[10]

The population of the city and surrounding area grew steadily in the century and a half after the first governor general arrived in 1549 with a major contingent of 1000 settlers. By the 1720's the urban

center contained between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants and the Recôncavo parishes were populated by another 50,000 to 60,000 persons. The period 1680 to 1725 was one of marked growth, particularly for the new tobacco district and for the city where, according to contemporary estimates, the number of urban households doubled from three to six thousand.[11]

The society that evolved in Salvador and the Recôncavo was formed by two very different currents of migration. The first was made up of a few Portuguese nobles and many more merchants, mariners, farmers and artisans from Portugal and her Atlantic possessions. We do not yet know the statistical dimensions of migration, but we do know that movement was continuous and that immigrants came mainly from the north of Portugal. The modest and sometimes spectacular success of these immigrants depended in large part on a second and forced migration of black slaves from Africa. The most recent appraisal of the size of this transfer suggests that for the duration of the Atlantic slave trade Bahia alone admitted 1,200,000 slaves, or 12.5% of the entire traffic to the New World. About 80% of these arrived after 1700, but the patterns of impact had been established long before then.[12]

The effect of African migration on the composition of Bahian society was dramatic and enduring. By the early eighteenth century about half of the urban and Recôncavo population was enslaved and the proportion of slaves rose as high as 60-70% in some sugar parishes.[13] At the same time, the process of miscegenation divided society into

three major racial groups consisting of Portuguese immigrants and their white descendants (homens brancos), African or Brazilian-born blacks (negros or crioulos), and a growing number of pardos--persons of mixed racial background who, on the coast, were most often the mulatto offspring of black-white unions, and their descendants.

Brazil's indigenous population had little direct impact on the formation of coastal society. The initially good relations conducted with Bahia's original inhabitants prior to the founding of Salvador rapidly deteriorated under the pressures of land development and settlement. The varied, loosely-organized and semi-nomadic Tupí tribes were either decimated or gradually pushed ever deeper into the interior. As a result the Indian contribution to social organization was largely indirect: As late as the 1720's, military services as Indian fighters provided Bahians with some leverage in acquiring land grants and offices.

Although all members of Bahian society could be classified by their status as slaves or freemen and, at least in an arbitrary way, according to race, other kinds of distinctions were made here as throughout the Iberian world. The concept of limpeza de sangue, which indicated the absence of any taint of Jewish, Moorish, or Negro blood and which was a prerequisite for office-holding and membership in certain sodalities, erected some barriers--not always impenetrable--between Bahia's Old and New Christians.[14] Bahians also distinguished between the immigrants (reinóis) and the native-born (mazombos or filhos da terra) in Portuguese society, but in the mid-colonial era this separa-

tion was not often a source of conflict or restriction.

Furthermore, the transfer of Portuguese values and institutions to Brazil introduced the traditional estate and corporate categories of Europe.[15] This hierarchical system was never transplanted whole, but elements were evident in certain contexts. Portuguese law, the proceedings of the municipal council, and other contemporary sources reflect a conceptualization of social elements in terms of corporate groups and estates with certain privileges and juridico-political status: fidalgos (nobles), letrados (officials, bureaucrats, and the university-educated), cidadões or homens bons (the citizen-electors), mecânicos (men occupied in the crafts and trades), and the povo (the people). The municipal council retained a corporate structure in its system of representation and access, while the militia made several, though by no means prevailing, corporate distinctions in its special companies for letrados, for the caulkers and carpenters of the shipyards, and for merchants.

Finally, reflecting the diversity of its economy, Bahian society was stratified into numerous occupational-functional categories. Although Brazilians persisted in viewing themselves in terms of corporate groups long after society had outgrown these medieval distinctions, they did think of themselves in terms of economic groups as well. Writing in the seventeenth century, Brandao, for instance, described a free society composed of five "conditions": mariners, merchants, artisans, salaried employees, and agriculturists.[16] And, in the mid-colonial period individual Bahians often identified themselves

in terms of dual or overlapping roles as "citizen and merchant," "noble and mill owner," "bacharel and farmer," and so forth.

As we will see, in a rough sense and to varying degrees, functional, racial, corporate, and other categories paralleled one another in a hierarchical fashion. But no set or combination of distinctions was completely rigid, and no single system of classification by itself determined the contours of the social structure.

NOTES

1. James Lockhart, Spanish Peru 1532-1560 (Madison, 1968).

2. Gilberto Freyre, Casa grande e senzala (2 vols., 14th Brazilian ed.; Rio de Janeiro, 1969). Caio Prado Júnior, Formação do Brasil contemporâneo. Colonia (9th ed.; São Paulo, 1969), pp. 281 ff., 342, 359 ff.

3. See chap. II, notes 2 and 3 for a survey of relevant works.

4. Anita Novinsky, Cristãos novos na Bahia (São Paulo, 1972). "Fontes para a história econômica e social do Brasil," Revista de História, XLIII (1974), 359-392. José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a carreira da India (São Paulo, 1968). Economia colonial (São Paulo, 1973).

5. C. R. Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil 1695-1750 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962). A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755 (Berkeley, 1968). Stuart B. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy: The Lavradores de Cana of Colonial Bahia," in Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil, ed. by Dauril Alden (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 147-197. "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745," HAHR, LIV (November, 1974), 603-635. Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil (Berkeley, 1973). Katia M. Queirós Mattoso, "Os escravos na Bahia no alvorecer do século xix. Estudo de um group social," Revista de História, XLVII (Jan.-Mar., 1974), 109-135.

6. Susan A. Soeiro, "A Baroque Nunnery: The Economic and Social Role of a Colonial Convent. Santa Clara do Destêrro, Salvador Bahia 1677-1800" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974). David G. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia 1620-1690" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1975).

7. Enciclopédia dos municípios brasileiros (36 vols.; Rio de Janeiro, 1958), IV, 38 ff., 126-131, 394 ff.; XIX and XX, passim. The total area of 12,294 sq. km. was reached by adding the areas of all modern municípios included in the Recôncavo zone. See also; Aroldo de Azevedo, "Salvador et le Recôncavo de Bahia," Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, no. 15 (Jul.-Sep., 1951), 189-203.

8. Thus far the most comprehensive of modern studies of the historical development of the Bahian sugar zone is: José Wanderley de Araújo Pinho, História de um engenho do Recôncavo (Rio de Janeiro,

1946). For other studies see the notes accompanying chap. II.

9. For pacification efforts see: Accioli-Amaral, Memórias históricas e políticas da Província da Bahia do Coronel Ignácio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva. Annotated by Dr. Braz do Amaral (6 vols.; Bahia, 1919-1940), II, 28-33 note 34; 131-133, notes 37 and 38; 230-232, note 4. Documentos históricos da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (DHBNRJ) (120 vols.; Rio de Janeiro, 1928- in progress), III, 223-227; V, 245-250.

10. For one history of the city of Salvador see: Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento da cidade do Salvador (Bahia, 1969).

11. For demographic trends see: Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento, pp. 159-200. Most contemporary estimates were based on ecclesiastical records which excluded small children and the unbaptized. In the 1580's Soares de Sousa wrote that there were 800 households in the city and more than 2000 on the Recôncavo. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587 (4th ed.; São Paulo, 1971), p. 134. A century later 3000 households in the city were counted, while a 1706 ecclesiastical census enumerated 4296 households and 21,601 "almas de confissão." José Pinheiro da Silva, "A capitania da Baía," RPH, VIII (1959), 71. Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento, p. 185. In the 1720's Rocha Pita placed the urban population at 6000 households and 28,000 "vizinhos capazes dos sacramentos." Most historians dismiss his figure of 100,000 for the Recôncavo as too large. Sebastião da Rocha Pita, História da America Portuguesa (São Paulo, 1965), pp. 58, 61. Schwartz provides a 1724 census report of 35,672 inhabitants for the sugar parishes of the Recôncavo, but apparently no equally precise figure is available for the tobacco and cattle zone. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," p. 608.

12. Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969), pp. 47-49, 88-89, 119, 207-211, 216, 268.

13, Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," p. 608.

14. For two recent evaluations of the role of the New Christians in seventeenth-century Bahia see: Novinsky, Cristãos novos na Bahia and Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil."

15. For the Portuguese background see: A. H. de Oliveira Marques, A sociedade medieval portuguesa (2nd ed.; Lisbon, 1971). Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, A estrutura na antiga sociedade portuguesa (Lisbon, 1971). "Sociedade portuguesa," in Dicionário de história de Portugal, ed. by Joel Serrão (4 vols.; Lisbon, 1971), IV, 19-51.

16. (Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão), Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil, ed. by António Gonsalves de Mello (Recife, 1966), pp. 9-10.

CHAPTER II

THE BAHIAN SUGAR PLANTATION: STRUCTURE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES

The society that developed along the Brazilian coast during the colonial period owed much of its character and organization to sugar. Where cane could be grown and transported, the Portuguese acquired land and settled permanently with their families. They planted cane on farms called *fazendas de cana*, and those among them with sufficient capital to do so constructed mills, or *engenhos*, to manufacture sugar for export to European markets. The separation of cultivation and processing, as well as diverse labor needs at each stage of production, brought to the sugar zone a wide range of social elements whose functions, wealth, origins, and status varied. The structure and social categories of the plantation took form early and remained fixed on the Recôncavo for centuries. But the physical composition and extent of individual estates fluctuated constantly in response to external and internal factors, and the fortunes of the families engaged in sugar production were less fixed.[1]

The following discussion, divided into three chapters, outlines the structure of the Bahian plantation and introduces the basic socio-economic categories that evolved in response to the requirements of planting and refining. It analyzes the high costs and risks of sugar production, the very real instability of the plantation, and the various ways planters dealt with problems of finance and instability. The

final section looks closely at the planters themselves, particularly at those who owned mills, to provide a social, economic, and political profile of the group in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Throughout, the diversity of plantation society is emphasized. This was the world of masters and slaves so often invoked in the literature about the Northeast, but there were different kinds of masters, important distinctions among slaves, and certain social types that occupied neither extreme. The early separation of growing and refining had far-reaching social implications. Typically the mill owners (senhores de engenho) directly cultivated only a portion of the cane they processed so there developed a much larger and internally diverse group of cane growers (lavradores de cana) who supplied the mills. Millers and growers alike imported the bulk of their labor force from Africa, and the senhores de engenho in particular brought to their estates numerous free employees to provide skilled, technical, and supervisory services.

A substantial portion of the material presented here focuses on the behavior and basic attributes of the mill owners who dominated plantation society and held commanding positions in colonial society as a whole. The senhor de engenho has long occupied center stage in historical and socio-economic studies of Brazil. The writings of Oliveira Vianna, Gilberto Freyre, Caio Prado, Pedro Calmon, Florestan Fernandes, and others have generated a series of well-worn stereotypes about this important figure: his fundamentally rural, patriarchal character; his indolent life-style; his aristocratic

pretensions and consuming pursuit of offices and titles; and his disdain for commerce.[2] Other writers have portrayed the senhor de engenho as a captain of industry and pioneering capitalist, a view suggested by the capital-intensive, party industrialized, export-oriented nature of the plantation itself.[3]

Both ideological considerations and limited research are responsible for these one-dimensional, contradictory profiles. A good deal of writing is intended to situate the plantation system and its masters within a feudal, capitalist, or some other framework as a means for tackling long-term issues such as economic underdevelopment or the emergence of a Brazilian bourgeoisie. There has been considerably less interest in conducting empirical research to reveal the actions and attitudes of a particular group of planters regionally and chronologically defined.

It is proposed here to examine the mid-colonial Bahian mill owner on his own terms to add substance to some old stereotypes and qualify others. The senhor de engenho that emerges displayed a pragmatic and opportunistic attitude toward his surroundings. He may not have been particularly innovative by modern standards, and he was always dependent upon economic factors beyond his control, but within the range of possibilities he did what he could to promote his economic well-being. His desire to lead a noble life on the land and his distaste for certain aspects of commerce did not prevent him from taking calculated risks, or from diversifying and integrating his economic concerns as much as possible. At the same time,

his preoccupation with status was two-edged. An illustrious marriage, a prestigious sodality membership, a title or office, all guaranteed high social standing. But they also brought concrete economic advantages in the form of property or access to credit, and they conveyed the power to promote and protect private interests.

Another multi-faceted theme concerns continuity and change within the planter class and planter dominance of society in this period. The existing literature has raised more questions about change and dominance than it has resolved. Gilberto Freyre, whose work on the plantation masters is still, in many ways, the most extensive and ambitious, assumes a certain homogeneity and continuity that did not really break down until the nineteenth century. Freyre does note the waxing and waning of individual fortunes, and the economic historians have underlined the chronic instability and long-range decline of the sugar sector--factors which were bound to have social implications.[4] The question remains, however, what was the impact of economic instability on the composition of the planter class at any given time?

A statement on the related issue of planter dominance of Bahian society has come from A. J. R. Russell-Wood in his study of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, the prestigious lay brotherhood that counted Bahia's rich and powerful among its members. On the basis of his analysis of membership rolls and governing boards, Russell-Wood contends that in the first half of the eighteenth century, following the initiation of a long-term decline in the sugar industry, the planter aristocracy lost power and influence to an emergent merchant

element.[5] In noting the growing importance of urban merchants in the eighteenth century Russell-Wood does not really depart from the traditional view, but his contention that an early, major shift in local power occurred is new.[6] His thesis has drawn criticism on two fronts: John Kennedy's article on the late colonial elite describes a still vigorous, politically active planter aristocracy, while David Smith's recent dissertation on seventeenth-century merchants shows that businessmen played an important role both in the Misericór-dia and in social and governing circles well before the period of change hypothesized by Russell-Wood.[7] The findings of all three scholars suggest a need to investigate more precisely the nature of social change in the early eighteenth century.

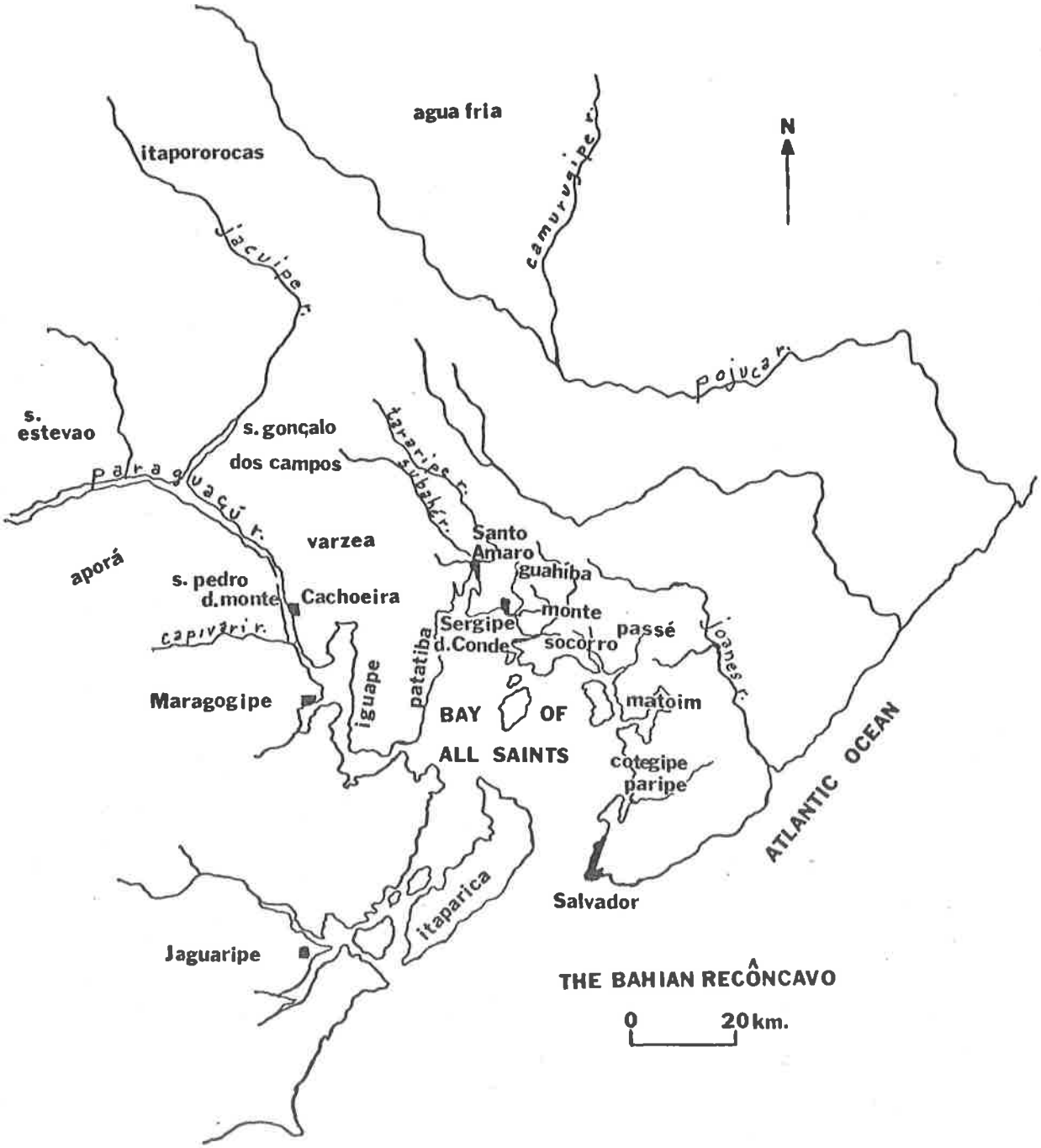
In the course of examining the behavior, characteristics, and origins of Bahia's turn-of-the-century senhores de engenho, this study attempts to clarify some of the issues raised above. There is little doubt that the vicissitudes of production and marketing, as well as other factors, altered the composition of the sugar elite. Economic instability had the dual effect of periodically ruining some old engenho families and, at the same time, opening the door to new mill owners, who tended to be either well-connected cane farmers or, significantly, Salvador's most prosperous and socially ambitious merchants. The numerical importance of new entrants to this category provides evidence of one crucial area of socio-economic mobility in the colonial world and further indicates that the senhores de engenho did not constitute a closed aristocracy.

Yet the changes observed at the pinnacle of plantation society in this period did not signal the complete demise of old sugar families, nor did internal fluidity drastically undermine the dominant social and political position planters held in Bahia. A core of distinguished sixteenth and seventeenth-century engenho families adopted a variety of policies that enabled it to survive economic instability. If anything, the admission of new blood and capital strengthened the group as a whole, enabling mill owners to retain control of crucial proprietary offices, local government, and the powerful militia well into the eighteenth century.

The Structure of the Plantation

Considered as an entire productive unit, each Bahian sugar plantation consisted of a mill (engenho) and its supplier farms (fazendas de cana). The separation of cultivation and processing gave the plantation a complex and volatile structure. Certain essential elements always comprised a working estate: the mill, canefields, and labor. But ownership and management were divided in various ways; they differed from mill to mill, and changed over time.

Apart from a few mills constructed in Maragogipe and the notable exception of Iguape parish west of the Bay of All Saints, the major sugar-growing region extended east and north of the bay in the parishes of Sergipe do Conde, Santo Amaro, Patatiba, Socorro, Monte, Passe, Cotegipe Matoim, and Paripe.[8] (See map.) The earliest engenhos occupied the fertile and easily accessible lands encircling the bay. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the prospective mill owner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acquired a grant of land (sesmaria) from the governor, who was empowered to distribute grants along waterways to persons with sufficient capital to establish a mill within a certain period of time. These early coastal holdings, which might measure one or two square leagues (one league=6600 m.), eventually became fragmented as they were developed, as portions devolved upon numerous heirs, and as parts were sold to other individuals. One grant of two square leagues issued in 1609, for example, contained seven mills and numerous farms by 1722.[9]

As the most desirable land closest to the city and the bay filled, ambitious planters cleared new areas and began constructing mills further inland, primarily in the backlands of Sergipe do Conde and Santo Amaro along the Subahé and Tararipe rivers. This major thrust inland occurred in the middle decades of the seventeenth century and eventually provoked complaints of over-building and poor planning. Problems arose as new engenhos were built as close as possible to the developed Recôncavo in order to compete for existing supplies of cane. In the early 1660's one influential owner sought royal control of expansion, but his petition met widespread opposition in Bahia. Less than twenty years later, however, many established senhores de engenho felt seriously enough threatened by increased competition for cane and dwindling wood supplies to request royal restrictions on new construction. In 1681 the crown did place controls on inland expansion and thereafter mills built "pela terra dentro" had to be situated at least one-half league from existing mills.[10] Apart from the fact that the

law was not interpreted to apply to mills already under construction, its immediate impact is unclear. Its promulgation was followed and overshadowed by repeated economic crises in the eighties and nineties that probably were more important in controlling expansion. In any case, the steady growth in the total number of mills experienced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries slowed in the first half of the eighteenth century and did not revive until the last boom decades of that period. (See Table 1.)

During the time of greatest interest here, the years 1680 to 1725, between 130 and 150 engenhos occupied the Bahian Recôncavo. These figures do not indicate replacement construction nor do they reflect yearly fluctuations in the number of working mills. The number of functioning engenhos varied from season to season in response to climatic conditions, the availability of slaves, the financial status of individual owners, and other factors. In 1723, for example, twenty-four mills reportedly lay idle because of a drought and a labor shortage.[11] Furthermore, a mill count never accurately indicated the number of senhores at any given time because multiple ownership was quite common. The contemporary historian Sebastião da Rocha Pita, himself a senhor de engenho, noted that some persons owned two, three, or even four mills. He may have had in mind a probable relative of his, António da Rocha Pita, who possessed four sugar mills in Cotegipe and Matoim. Around 1700 about one-fifth of the senhores de engenho operated more than one mill, in most cases two.[12]

Engenhos were of various types. The inland mills were called

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF MILLS, SUGAR PRODUCTION, AND PRICES IN SELECTED YEARS

Year	No. of Mills	Estimated Annual Production (chests) [a]	Price Per Arroba Best White Sugar	Observations
1587	36-40	3428+	$800	
1612	50			
1618			1$000	
1621			$800	
1627			$800	
1629	80			
1634			$800	
1642			1$000	
1646			1$600	
1653			1$200	
1655			1$500	
1656			1$000	
1660			1$090	
1665			1$100	
1666-67			1$300	Epidemic
1669			1$200	
1676	130		1$060-1$660	
1677			1$160	
1680-81			1$060	1681-83 epidemic disrupted prod.
1682			1$200	1682-83 harvests reported "poor"
1683		less than 10,000		
1685	100+ beira-mar			
1687		14,500-15,500	1$160	Est. of normal prod. in this period
1688			$800	
1691-92			1$200	1686-93 reported as crisis years due to labor shortages, financial distress and marketing problems in Europe

TABLE 1--Continued.

Year	No. of Mills	Estimated Annual Production (chests) [a]	Price Per Arroba Best White Sugar	Observations
1693-98	146	14,500		Slaves that once cost 40-50 now cost 80-100
1697			1$500	
1698		14,000+	1$200	
1699-1700			2$200	
1701				Poor harvest reported
1702		15,000	1$800	
1703			1$600	
1704	130+	15-16,000	1$600-1$700	
1705-06			1$600	
1707			1$350	
1708		14,000+	1$350	
1710		15,000	1$350	
1714		5,000		Bad winter disrupted prod.
1715			2$100	
1717			2$000-2$100	
1718-19			1$920	
1721			1$500	
1723	150	5-8,000		Drought and labor shortage; 24 mills idle
1725		11-12,000	1$500	
1726		12-13,000		
1727		8,000		Poor harvests predicted due to bad weather in 1727-28
1728		7,000		
1730		12,000		
1755	126			Working mills
1799	260			

TABLE 1--Continued.

[a]Production for export. Each chest contained about 35 arrobas.

Sources: Table 1 was compiled from the following: Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, pp. 241-246. Soares de Sousa, Tratado, p. 162. Engel Sluiter, "Report on the State of Brazil 1612," HAHR, XXIX (November, 1949), 533. "Discripción de la província del Brasil," Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa, II (1962), 4-5. José Pinheiro da Silva, "A Capitania da Baía," RPH, VIII (1959), 181. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 29, 274-277. (Antonil's figure of 146 mills may include those in Sergipe del Rey.) Rocha Pita, História, p. 61. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 429-438. (The other 46 mills listed by Caldas for 1755 were definitely located in Sergipe del Rey.) Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, 174. Wanderley Pinho, História de um engenho, pp.193-220, 247-259. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1696, fs. 4v-6; 1704, fs. 109v-113. Vol. 131, 1723, fs. 47-48v. Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, doc. 36a, 1698. Vol. 13, doc. 96, 1714, fs. 68-68v; doc. 102, 1714, fs. 75-76. Vol. 17, doc. 72, 1723, fs. 198v-199. Vol. 19, doc. 11, 1725, fs. 8-9; doc. 23, 1725, f. 19. Vol. 20, doc. of 22 Aug., 1726, fs. 286-286v. Vol. 21, doc. 197, 1727, f. 196. Vol. 23, doc. 46, 1728, fs. 64v-65. Vol. 24, doc. 65, 1729, fs. 166-168. Vol. 26, doc. 83, 1730, f. 300. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 187-189; 1702, fs. 258v-259. Vol. 9.29, 1718, f. 4v. Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 186; 1715, f. 257v; 1717, f. 296. Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1719, fs. 156v-157; 1721, f. 158v.

engenhos de mato, while the term beira-mar referred to those mills on lands and along waterways encircling the bay. In relative terms, the engenhos de mato suffered an important disadvantage in that both the hazards and cost of transporting sugar increased as the distance from water transportation and the city became greater. On the other hand, they possessed the advantage of virgin soil and comparatively abundant woodlands and pasturage. A seconddistinction may be made between the water-powered engenho real and the animal-driven engenhoca. The engenho real was a relatively large establishement in terms of the amount of cane milled and the size of its labor force, while the smaller engenhoca handled less cane in a season and relied on fewer slaves and a skeletal free staff. The two sets of mill classifications coincided to some extent; one could say that the engenho real tended to be located near the bay, or beira-mar, while the engenhoca was situated inland, but the pattern would not always hold. It is not clear whether water or animal-powered mills predominated in this period, but in the mid-1680's the Salvador council reported that more than 100 mills--that is, over two-thirds--were located beira-mar.[13]

A compound of buildings located on the mill lands formed the physical and social center of the plantation complex. A large mill usually boasted an imposing two-story stone residence--the casa grande central in the writings of Gilberto Freyre--as well as a chapel and numerous constructions suitable for milling, refining, weighing and storage, quartering slaves, and housing overseers and other salaried employees. Contemporaries compared the heart of the plantation, with its multiple constructions, chapel and gardens, to a small village.[14]

A smaller engenho had the same center on a more modest scale: a simple residence for the owner and his family, rudimentary housing for a smaller staff, and perhaps a multi-purpose building for processing sugar.

Ideally the mill lands contained sufficient woodlands to supply timber for general construction and repairs, for the wooden carts that were the main form of land transportation, and above all for fuel to sustain the furnaces that operated day and night during the milling season. However, towards the end of the seventeenth century most of the older mills around the bay no longer had their own sources. Their senhores either purchased more remote wooded tracts or relied on timbermen (lavradores de lenha) to supply what was necessary.[15]

Because oxen and horses were used for transportation and, in some cases, for power, the engenho typically included pasturage for draft animals. The mill owners did not raise cattle on their sugar estates; instead, they either purchased livestock at periodic cattle fairs or, since many senhores de engenho were also cattlemen, they supplied themselves from ranches located in less productive parts of the Recôncavo or the interior.[16] In addition, the plantation required lands for basic food crops such as manioc, beans, and corn. However, in their desire to plant as much of the land near the mill as possible in cane, sugar producers often relied on others to provide subsistence crops, or, again, they supplied themselves from their own manioc farms located in other parts of the Recôncavo. Antonil observed that those

mills closest to the city lacked not only woodlands, but roças (agricultural plots) for subsistence as well. Furthermore, the notarial transactions that describe mills and farms in the period 1680-1725 rarely mention the presence of manioc plots. The unwillingness or inability of planters to devote land to manioc and other basics increased the competition for food crops grown to supply the needs of the city. In response to this problem the crown ordered, in 1688, that all senhores de engenho and lavradores de cana with enough land to do so were to plant 500 covas of manioc for each slave in their service. Later and similar orders suggest that compliance was always uneven.[17]

Each mill, of course, required a steady supply of cane for processing during the milling season, but from the beginning the senhor de engenho grew only part of the cane he handled. He leased or sold parts of his land to cane growers with the obligation to supply his mill, and he made long-term or seasonal milling arrangements with independent farmers. This system permitted the manufacturer of sugar, that is, the owner of the mill, to distribute the costs and risks of sugar cultivation, since each lavrador generally provided his own costly fabrica of tools, carts, animals, and slaves.

The typical cane farm (fazenda de cana) included the residence of the lavrador, slave quarters, pasture land, perhaps a wooded area and manioc plots, and the fields planted in cane. A few of the larger fazendas, with their chapels, staff housing, and "noble" constructions, resembled an engenho without the mill itself. At the beginning of the

eighteenth century, more than 2000 growers supplied the 130 or so engenhos on the Bahian Recôncavo. Thus an average of about 15 lavradores, or, assuming the number of growers and farms was the same, about 15 farms supplied each mill. Naturally the ratio varied according to the capacity of each engenho and the size and productivity of its related farms.[18]

The relationship between the farm and the mill and between the senhor de engenho and his suppliers was a complicated one, centering on who controlled the land and the disposition of the cane to be milled. The best contemporary description of the lavrador de cana and his place in the sugar sector comes to us from the Jesuit Giovanni Andreoni, better known by his pseudonym Antonil, in his magnificent Cultura e opulência do Brasil, published in 1711. The best modern evaluation of the growers and their complex relationship with the senhores de engenho is presented in a recent article by historian Stuart Schwartz, which utilizes the records of the large Jesuit-owned engenho Sergipe do Conde.[19] The following discussion relies on these two basic sources, as well as on numerous contracts involving sugar properties which were registered with Bahian notaries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The notarial records provide three kinds of new information: They indicate the close ties between credit and milling rights; they suggest the relative importance of independents among growers in this period; and, they shed some light on the social origins of the lavradores de cana.

A strong element of interdependency was built into the

the Bahian plantation system, since the grower absolutely required milling services and the senhor de engenho relied on grower supplies to keep his operation running steadily and profitably throughout the milling season. In general the lavrador surrendered a stiff 50% of his processed harvest in exchange for milling. Beyond this basic connection, the relationship changed according to whether or not the lavrador owned his own land and according to the degree of freedom he exercised in choosing where he took his cane. In this context, the growers fell into three broad categories; those who did not own the land they worked and whose cane was "captive," or obligated in perpetuity to a particular mill; growers who did own their own land, but whose cane was captive; and, lavradores who held clear title to their farms and full freedom to negotiate milling rights.[20]

The least advantaged of the cane farmers were the lavradores de partido, or sharecroppers, who worked the lands of and supplied a designated mill for a percentage of their yearly harvest according to six, nine, or eighteen-year contracts. Not only did the sharecropper exhange half of his crop for milling, he also paid a third or fourth of the remaining half for land usage. This category probably included the most marginal of sugar producers and the ones whose tie to the land and the Recôncavo was most tenuous. Their combined milling and rental payments left little margin for capital accumulation and their limited property reduced their access to credit.

Significantly, the land rental rates paid by sharecroppers were not entirely inflexible. By the end of the seventeenth century,

rates traditionally set at one-third or one-fourth were decreasing to a fifth, a tenth, or even less.[21] For example, in 1694, one senhor de engenho named Luis Ferreira de Araújo rented a farm from his mill estate in Sergipe do Conde parish to Domingos Alvares Mendes for eighteen years. He set the land rental rate at one-fifth of Mendes' share of the cane already planted. And, as an incentive for expansion, Araújo promised to reduce the rate further, to one-tenth, on all new cane planted.[22] For the senhor de engenho building up his estate, lowering rates provided one means for competing for new sources of cane. And, in the aftermath of the over-building of mills mentioned above, competition for sharecroppers may have been particularly keen in this period.[23]

Another type of cane grower in the landless and obligated category was the tenant farmer who worked the lands of others for a fixed fee rather than on a percentage basis. This arrangement was made less frequently than sharecropping, and an impressionistic judgment based on rental contracts is that rental on a fixed fee basis occurred most often in special cases involving more than the usual two parties (miller and grower). A landowning lavrador with more fields than he could manage might rent a portion to a neighboring farmer. A widow, merchant, or priest might own a fazenda but choose to reside in the city and lease the property to an experienced cane grower. In such cases three rather than two persons had an interest in the cane cultivated: the owner of the farm, the tenant who worked the farm, and the senhor who milled the cane. It was probably easier for all concerned to limit the rental obligation between owner and tenant to a set fee

and negotiate a separate milling agreement.[24]

The second broad category of cane growers owned their fazenda lands but held a permanent obligation to send their cane to a particular mill for processing. In his study of the growers who supplied the Engenho Sergipe, Schwartz describes this form of land tenure as emphyteusis, essentially the leasing of land in perpetuity, but with the restriction of permanent rights to mill the cane cultivated; a symbolic rent (foro) of two chickens or a bit of flour changed hands each year as a reminder of the continuing attachment between the mill and the farm land.[25] This characterization is probably best suited to an institutionally-owned (and therefore comparatively stable) mill like the Jesuit one Schwartz studied. Contracts concerning individually-owned mills and farms make no mention of a symbolic foro binding the mill and the grower's land. Instead, the tie between engenho and fazenda resided solely in a milling contract which obligated the grower to supply the mill in perpetuity ("para sempre"). The land itself was transferable by sale or inheritance and the milling agreement, although imposed in perpetuity, was nonetheless ratified or renegotiated each time the land changed hands.[26]

If the cane grower who owned his own land but whose cane was captive refused to honor his milling obligation, the senhor de engenho could neither evict the grower nor replace him since he had no legal claim to the land. Unless he could apply social or economic pressures of another kind, he found it necessary to appeal to local justice for damages. The courts of the local magistrates must have been full of

claims of this sort and the few examples extant indicate that the process, with its counter-claims and appeals, could be slow and costly. In one case initiated in 1699 in the vila of Sergipe do Conde, senhor de engenho Captain Francisco da Fonseca Vilas Boas accused a landed lavrador named Dinis de Meirelles of breaking a written milling agreement which he and his father before him had possessed for over forty years. Copies of the pertinent contracts supported his claim as did the presiding judge, but Meirelles argued that his accuser and the judge were closely related and appealed the decision. At some point Meirelles simply abandoned the original farm and took his slaves to another fazenda to wait out the case, which dragged on for years. The senhor de engenho lost a traditional source of cane and could do little about it because he possessed no rights to the fazenda land.[27]

Of course not all lavradores had the resources to defy the senhores de engenho to whom they were obligated, and for many, particularly those indebted to the mill owners they supplied, land ownership did not bring much more independence than that exercised by sharecroppers. For example, in 1698 an ambitious new senhor named Antônio da Rocha Pita was consolidating several mill estates and purchased a cane farm, free of a milling obligation, for 3750 cruzados. The fazenda was intended to supply one of two mills owned by Rocha Pita in the parish of Matoim. João Carvalho de Vasconcellos and his wife agreed to staff and work the farm, but apparently only if they were permitted to buy the land. The terms of sale offer an interesting example of the means employed by millers to attract growers and indicate how pre-

carious the position of the landed, but obligated lavrador could be.

Rocha Pita agreed to sell the farm to Vasconcellos and his wife and even lowered the purchase price to 2500 cruzados, or two-thirds of what he had paid five days earlier. In doing so, however, he attached a permanent milling obligation requiring the lavrador to take his cane to one of the Matoim mills for processing. Furthermore, because the lavrador Vasconcellos did not possess the ready capital to settle the sale price, he had to pledge a portion of his yearly harvest in payment. Apart from the customary one-half of his crop exchanged for milling, he had to apply three-quarters of the remaining half to his land debt. The remainder was designated in the contract, appropriately, "for sustenance." This arrangement left Vasconcellos with only one-eighth of his produce to support his family and buy slaves, a situation bound to bring further indebtedness and years of dependence on Rocha Pita.[28] The same kinds of terms are evident in other land sales between mill owners and lavradores,[29] and occasionally one can trace the return of the land to the original seller. In one such case the lavrador Pedro Tavares Pereira sold his farm back to the mill owner from whom he had acquired it "many years" earlier. At the time, Pereira had managed to pay off less than ten percent of the original purchase price.[30]

Putting the relationship between the senhor de engenho and the landed but obligated lavrador in perspective, Schwartz characterizes the arrangement as a sort of compromise between the desire of the mill owner to hold on to the land and his need to offer ownership as

an incentive to attract growers.[31] As the examples above suggest, if the lavrador became seriously indebted in the process, the compromise favored the mill owner and left the grower in much the same dependent position as that of the sharecropper.

The use of perpetual milling obligations can be viewed from a slightly different perspective, one that will become clearer at later points in this discussion. The senhor de engenho's hold on the land was always tenuous. The chronic instability of the sugar sector and the divisive effects of inheritance exercised strong pressures on the physical integrity of sugar estates and caused successive periods of fragmentation and reconstitution. In this context, the attachment of a perpetual milling obligation represented one (not always successful) means for keeping estates reasonably intact when land ownership could not.

The most independent cane growers were those who held clear titles to their land and were unencumbered by a permanent milling agreement. The freedom to negotiate short-term or seasonal milling contracts placed these lavradores in a position to bargain with competing senhores de engenho for optimum terms and special favors. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this relationship to emerge from the notarial contracts is the negotiation of milling rights for credit or for cash loans with reduced interest rates or no interest at all. In a capital-intensive sector the importance of this access to credit cannot be over-emphasized. Numerous examples could be cited, but the following may be considered typical. In 1699, Manuel Lopes Henriques,

the owner of the engenho Santa Teresa in Matoim, loaned 1625 cruzados to the owner of a near-by unobligated cane farm, Francisco de Lucena de Vasconcellos. In this particular case the creditor agreed to settle several debts the lavrador held with shopkeepers and merchants including the creditor himself. This was a common arrangement in loan and milling agreements; the other most common contract involved a loan of cash destined for the"supply and increase" of the fazenda or specifically for the purchase of slaves. In exchange for financial assistance, the lavrador Vasconcellos promised to send all the cane from one fazenda to the engenho Santa Teresa for milling as long as the principal remained unpaid. In this and other agreements the milling pledge replaced the usual 6¼% yearly interest due on loans and the lavrador paid only the standard half of his crop for milling, which he would have to pay in any case. Once the principal was satisfied the lavrador regained full control of milling rights.[32]

The advantages accruing to the independent lavrador in this situation were significant, since he acquired credit without interest payments. Nevertheless, since he did mortgage his property in the process, his advantage rested ultimately on his ability to repay or renegotiate the loan in a reasonable amount of time. From the point of view of the mill owners, the practice of exchanging credit for milling pledges placed the more solvent among senhores de engenho in a comparatively favorable position in competing for new or seasonal sources of cane.

It was not possible to measure statistically the relative

importance of the various categories of lavradores described here, in part because growers sometimes occupied more than one category. However, there is evidence to suggest that in this period the independent growers played more than an occasional role in the plantation system. The sales, rentals, and mortgages of mills registered between 1680 and 1725 normally listed the farms attached by ownership and/or milling obligation. In a systematic examination of these and other records, I found no example of an engenho for which the number of farms exceeded eight.[33] Admittedly some of these mills were described at low points, but even the apparently healthy engenhos possessed a surprisingly small number of attached fazendas and milling obligations, considering that an average of fifteen farms supplied each mill. The implication is that these engenhos relied on an equal, if not larger, number of independently owned and unobligated fazendas for yearly cane supplies. The point requires further investigation, but it is worth pursuing for its importance in assessing the over-all position of the cane grower. Was he characteristically a landless sharecropper and an economic and social appendage of the senhor de engenho? Or was he just as often an independent landowner and free agent? Both types existed, but it is not yet clear which dominated.

The lavradores de cana do not lend themselves to statistical or detailed analysis of origins as readily as the senhores de engenho, to whom a separate chapter is devoted. There were far more cane growers--about 2000 at the turn of the century--and references to individuals are more diffuse. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to venture some generalizations about origins in the middle

colonial period.

In the first place, like the senhores de engenho, the lavradores were basically white men or women of Portuguese background. Of 400 persons identified as landed growers or sharecroppers between 1680 and 1725, only one was described as a pardo. This was Felipe Carvalho de Almeida, who owned his own fazenda and seventeen slaves in Tararipe. Apparently most blacks and pardos found sugar cultivation too costly an enterprise (see chap. III), and they may have been deliberately excluded from this category by the white merchants and planters who loaned capital and dominated the important money-lending institutions, as well as by the senhores de engenho who negotiated sharecropping agreements and sold land. Whether or not the situation changed in the course of the eighteenth century remains to be seen.[34]

There were families on the Recôncavo who engaged primarily in cane growing for several generations. On the whole, however, they are difficult to isolate and follow because they tended to disperse eventually or become absorbed by mill families. The Paivas, for example, cultivated cane in Paripe for three generations, but their several farms did not comprise a lasting or cohesive estate. The third generation consisted of two brothers, Cosme Freitas de Sá and Tomé Pedrosa de Góes, and their sister, Dona Maria de Freitas. Tomé became a priest, Cosme died without issue, and both had been forced to sell much of their shares of the family holdings during the nineties in order to settle accumulated debts. The family continued in the sugar sector through Dona Mariana, who married Dr. Martinho Barbosa de Araújo, a city

lawyer who was developing two small mills in the backlands of Sergipe do Conde. The couple acquired at least one Paiva cane farm as a dowry, and they sold it in 1697 to help finance their mills.[35] The lack of long-term continuity observed among cane-growing families may simply reflect incomplete sources; however, given the instability of the sugar market, and the inevitable pressures of numerous heirs and mounting debts, it is difficult to imagine that an estate of one or more farms could easily sustain a family for more than a generation or two.

In part the lavradores were simply extensions of other groups, in particular of two: urban-based merchants and professionals, and the mill-owning families themselves. Some merchants invested in farms, just as the richest among them purchased engenhos, and priests and lawyers with independent incomes and inheritances often acquired cane fazendas. These owners might lease their farms to tenants while they resided in the city, or they might divide their time between Salvador and the sugar district. Others moved to the Recôncavo permanently. The merchant Domingos Alvares de Araújo, the career lawyer Dr. Antonio Correa Ximenes, and physician Dr. João Alvares de Vasconcellos all owned fazendas which they either inherited or purchased. A priest named Fernão Góes de Barros built up an estate of four cane farms in Paripe, where he resided at the turn of the century. And finally, an immigrant merchant from Via[illegible] Jorge de Sá Pinto, purchased a cane farm in Patatiba and, after som[illegible]hirty years residence in the city of Salvador, he sold his urban house and moved to the Recôncavo permanently.[36]

The most fruitful manner of tracing the origins of the lavradores is through the senhores de engenho and the mill families in general. Both independent growers and sharecroppers were often related by descendance or marriage to the senhores in their districts. There are countless examples of ties of kinship between growers and senhores. The brothers of senhor de engenho Affonso da França were cane growers, as were the sons and brothers-in-law of mill owner Manuel Mendes Monforte. The fidalgo and lavrador Sebastião Brito de Castro was the brother of two mill owners and related to several others through marriage. Numerous members of the large Araújo de Góes family managed farms in Cotegipe and Passé and were related in some way to the powerful mill owner and militia colonel Sebastião de Araújo Góes.[37]

By way of underlining the kinship status of many lavradores the Aragão family may be cited as a final example. One branch of this extended clan was headed by Coronel Pedro Camello Pereira de Aragão, who had married his first cousin, Dona Ana de Araújo de Aragão. The colonel owned the Engenho da Ponte until his death in 1687; thereafter the mill changed hands several times, but always within the Aragão family. This particular owner had eleven children from two marriages, and ten of them became mill owners or cane growers. Four sons became lavradores and two of these eventually purchased a mill in partnership. Two daughters married senhores and four others operated farms with their husbands. In the early eighteenth century the Engenho da Ponte held the perpetual milling obligations of six neighboring fazendas and of these, three pertained to second and third-generation grower families

and the other three belonged to relatives. Furthermore, at least five near-by fazendas were managed by the sons, sons-in-law, and nephews of the da Ponte owners.[38]

Ties of kinship between millers and growers were a natural concommitant of inheritances and marriages planned to keep sugar estates reasonably intact and mills adequately supplied. Obviously such ties lost their importance at some point when the relationship became too remote or when an ambitious family member struck out to build up a mill estate of his own. However, the major purpose here is simply to indicate that over the years the mill families were themselves an important source of new cane growers. Even a conservative estimate of four or five related lavradores per mill owner suggests that perhaps a quarter to a third of all lavradores de cana were actually members of mill-owning families.

This parente, or kinship, status confirms and clarifies Schwartz's view that the cane farmers were "men of moreorless the same social origins" as the senhores de engenho.[39] In fact their origins were frequently identical. Kinship added yet another dimension to plantation relationships already made complex by differences in land tenure, milling obligations and credit ties. Men with parente status may have represented the most stable element among growers and, because of their social connections, they probably imparted a high degree of respectability to the category as a whole. Furthermore, their considerable presence on the Recôncavo probably moderated the potentailly antagonistic relationship between growers and millers. Common

background and a personal interest in the family mill--however remote or opportunistic--prevented the lavrador from perceiving himself as a distinct social type. Thus while common interests did not preclude individual disputes over land and milling rights, they probably kept personal disaffection from erupting into widespread or sustained conflict.

Labor and Administration

The reliance of the Brazilian plantation on slave labor is well known. By the early eighteenth century slaves comprised between 60-70% of the population in some sugar parishes.[40] Antonil calculated that large plantations used as many as 150 or 200 slaves, and from the context it is clear that he was counting slaves both on the mill and on its supplier farms. He does not offer information about distribution, but other sources indicate a wide range of variation. The mill proper could have fifty or more or as few as ten or fifteen slaves, while the cane farms depended on anywhere from three to twenty-five (and occasionally more) slaves each. Since the lavradores de cana normally purchased their own labor forces, the actual number of slaves possessed by any one person was usually much lower than Antonil's estimate for an entire plantation. Thus the stereotype of the sugar planter with his hundreds of slaves was probably realized at this time only in exceptional cases.[41]

The slave population was very diverse. As in Spanish America the terminology current classified slaves in terms of race, origins, and experience. Escravo preto or negro designated a black slave, while

escravo pardo or mulato defined a slave of mixed racial heritage, in this case of black-white background. The port of origin of an African-born and therefore black slave might be specified, while the term crioulo referred to Brazilian-born black slaves. Since mulatos and crioulos were all Brazilian-born (or at least born outside Africa), it was inferred that they were moreorless acculturated. To provide the same information about the African-born, Brazilians distinguished between the boçal or novo, a new arrival from Africa, and the ladino, a Portuguese-speaking, relatively experienced black slave.[42]

Plantation slaves were placed in three categories which reflected their functions and locations as well as their length of time and acculturation in Brazil. At the bottom of the social heirarchy in the sugar sector and in Bahian society in general were the escravos de enxada e foiçe (field slaves) who cut wood, cleared the land, cultivated and harvested cane, and performed other hard labor. Both males and females worked in the fields, although the demanding task of clearing the land was reserved for males. The most numerous among slaves on the plantation, the escravos de enxada e foice were most closely associated with the cane farms. If the senhor de engenho let out all his farms and concentrated on the mill alone, he needed few slaves of this type.[43]

The escravos de serviço were directly involved in the milling and refining of sugar, or they performed other skilled and semi-skilled tasks as caulkers, builders, boatmen, fishermen, and so forth. They were both male and female, although their functions differed somewhat by sex, and their specialized activities kept most in the mill area or,

in the case of the artisans, on the larger farms. The escravos de serviço tended to be more acculturated and racially diverse than their counterparts in the fields, and Antonil particularly recommended the selection of ladinos and mulatos for work in the mill.[44]

The escravos de casa, or house slaves, were the personal and domestic servants of the sugar producers and their families. Ubiquitous in the literature of the Brazilian plantation, their actual numerical importance is difficult to calculate. Social pressures made it desireable to keep at least a minimal retinue of personal servants, but this category was probably most closely associated with the senhores de engenho and the more substantial lavradores. They appear most frequently in notarial contracts as female cooks, seamstresses, laundry women, and the personal attendants of the planter's wife and daughters.

Described ad nauseum in her role as concubine, the female house slave occupied a special position which went beyond her physical contribution to miscegenation. Her contact with Portuguese customs, language, and religion exceeded that of the field slave in variety and intensity. She spent much time in the company of people who were culturally Portuguese, and trips to the city with the family interrupted her narrow physical tie to the sugar estate. She commonly entered into the dowry portion of her master's daughter along with the dresses and silver, which usually meant she would move to another plantation or to Salvador. Her role of mother to her own children and nursemaid to her mistress's children made her an important transmitter of culture. The offspring of such women formed a pool from which were drawn the men

and women, partly acculturated and ethnically mixed, who filled the various skilled and semi-skilled positions around the plantation and perhaps in the city as well.[45]

The most heterogeneous category of labor on the sugar estates included the artisans who serviced the mills and larger farms, and the skilled sugar technicians who worked on the engenhos. These men might be slaves, the escravos de serviço described above, or they might be free salaried employees of almost any ethnic background. Carpenters, stonemasons, blacksmiths, and others were responsible for basic construction, regular repairs, and similar needs of the plantation. The freemen among them lived in or near the small Recôncavo settlements, or they resided permanently on the engenhos and larger farms. For example, João Soares Coelho was a free pardo itinerant carpenter who worked in the sugar parish of Patatiba, while Domingos Alvares, a Portuguese immigrant blacksmith, resided on the mill lands of the Engenho Vera Crus in Iguape. At one point a carpenter, two stonemasons, as well as a cobbler and tailor, resided permently on the large water-powered Engenho da Ponte, and the owner kept accounts with other artisans who did not reside on his mill lands but who performed occasional services. It is likely that most lavradores had no need for resident artisnas, but hired itinerants intermittenly to repair tools, carts and the like.[46]

The mestre de açúcar (sugar master) and his various assistants made technical decisions and directed the actual manufacture of sugar at various stages. These positions might be combined in a single per-

son in a small establishment or expanded to include numerous assistants on a large mill. Whatever their numbers, the sugar technicians were essential to the functioning of the enterprise and their level of competency could make or break the senhor de engenho.[47] Technicians like Antônio Alvares Torres and Gonçalo da Rocha Maciel were free whites who worked for a yearly salary, while Domingos Lopes da Silva was a free black Angolese. In 1707 the governor wrote that because of a shortage of skilled sugar technicians, even slaves were employed in that capacity. Thus in the early eighteenth century these skilled workers still comprised a mixed group in terms of status and ethnic background. According to one late eighteenth-century observer, in the long run blacks and mulattos dominated these positions and whites only occasionally served as sugar technicians.[48]

The tendency of whites to move out of this category probably resulted from several factors. They may have been increasingly reluctant to serve in a capacity so closely associated with black slavery. On the other hand, such men were particularly susceptible to the attraction of new opportunites, such as the opening of the mines in the interior, or the development of other sugar-producing areas in Brazil. One contemporary complained specifically that the sugar masters, along with overseers and clerks, were disrupting sugar production by abandoning the mills for the gold mines.[49] Other enterprises may have proven equally tempting, and I suspect that the sugar masters, like the city artisans described in another chapter, were often entrepreneurial types. Clearly a few ambitious technicians attempted

to capitalize on their own innovations in sugar processing. Most projects were disappointing, but Joao Simões, for example, sucessfully tested a technique for conserving fuel. He obtained a license from the city council to collect 50 milreis from each senhor de engenho who adopted his improvement.[50] Finally, one study of Pernambuco reveals several instances of sugar technicians becoming lavradores. I can offer no examples from Bahia, but this channel of mobility is a logical one considering the special knowledge and contacts of the mestre de acucar.[51]

The highest level of labor associated with the sugar estates included the salaried overseers, chaplains, accountants, and agents of various sorts who provided supervisory and special services. Only the large mills required a sizable staff of this kind. The positions were flexible and could be combined, left out, or assumed by members of the planter family to fill the needs of a small mill or a cane farm. A general overseer (feitor-mor) normally disciplined the slaves and allotted tasks and schedules to slaves and employees. On a large establishment the assistant overseers (feitores menores) supervised labor in defined areas such as the the mill, the fields, the woodlands, and so forth. On the engenhos, a resident caixeiro weighed the sugar, divided it between the miller and growers, supervised its crating for export, and performed other tasks. Another caixeiro in the city received the sugar, saw to its proper dispositon, and acted as accountant and general agent for the senhor de engenho.[52]

A resident chaplain cared for the mill or fazenda chapel and administered the sacraments to the estate population. He might also act as schoolmaster to the owner's children as well. There is little doubt that these spiritual advisers and teachers were dependents of the planter families. Antonil reported that an engenho chaplain usually received an annual salary of 40 or 50 milreis, and he felt the need to remind his readers that such men should be priests, not personal servants.[53] The notarial registers contain a good many patrimonios in which mill-owning and lavrador families agreed to provide a lifetime income for clerics in return for religious services. The Calmons, for example, set up a patrimony for Padre Antônio de Queirós to attend the chapel on their fazenda in Cahipe. As was customary, they provided him with a residence and lifetime yearly income of 25 milreis.[54]

The staff of overseers, accountants and chaplains was characteristically free and white, but even here there were some glaring exceptions. In one interesting case Captain Vas Carneiro da Rocha presented his daughter and son-in-law with a cane fazenda and twenty-five slaves as a dowry settlement. One of the twenty-five was a mulatto named João Mexias who served as overseer (feitor) of the other slaves.[55]

The mill owners and cane growers frequently named agents to handle assorted legal and business affairs in the city of Salvador or elsewhere for a fee. They granted power of attorney to procuradores, or proxies, in documents called procuraçoes which em-

powered their representative to act either on one occasion--to purchase property, to negotiate a loan or handle a boundary dispute--or, more often, following a standard form, authorized the carrier to act generally as legal and/or business agent. For example, a Salvador merchant named Bernardo Teixeira de Matos borrowed money and purchased land on numerous occasions for several prominent senhores de engenho, and career lawyer Francisco Ximenes was the legal representative of three or four engenho families for many years. The procurações offer one indication of the widespread contacts maintained by the most important sugar producers. Their agents resided not only in the city of Salvador and its environs, but also in remote areas of the interior, in Rio, the mining centers, Portugal and Africa.[56]

Normally the over-all administration of the sugar plantation was assumed by its various owners and tenants themselves. These men typically resided on their estates at least part of the time and made the major decisions about purchasing or selling land, cattle, slaves, and other property, about hiring, planting, and negotiating milling and loan contracts. Thus the mayordomo, or estate manager, so common on Spanish American estates and present on large holdings in the interior, was not really important in the sugar zone. One notable exception was the Jesuit-owned Engenho do Conde, whose estate manager supplied Antonil with much of his data. Significantly, the wise counsel and information assembled and published by Antonil was specifically addressed to the senhores de engenho themselves rather than to a special group of managers. The division of the Bahian

plantation into separate productive units distributed among the senhor de engenho and various cane farmers probably rendered the estate manager unnecessary.[57]

Occasions arose of course when a producer could not administer his mill or farms personally because of infirmity, travel, or because his interests demanded prolonged residence in the city. Invariably where the solutions to problems of absentee ownership have been recorded, the senhor de engenho did one of two things. He either formally named a son and heir as administrator or he leased his property and slaves to an individual of comparable social standing and experience. When public duties and commercial interests drew large mill owners like Pedro Gomes, Manuel Mendes Monforte, and Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque to their Salvador residences, they turned the administration of their sugar properties over to their sons. In 1706, for example, Bernardino Cavalcante e Albuquerque and his father Cristóvão settled accounts for the time the younger Cavalcante administered his father's two engenhos and attached cane farms. In another typical case, Sebastião Alvares de Carvalho, a merchant and permanent resident of the city, rented his engenho and slaves for a set fee to a neighboring cane grower and son of a mill owner, rather than hire a manager.[58]

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To summarize, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries between 130 and 150 sugar mills of various types occupied the Bahian Recôncavo. Each mill formed the center of a rather ill-

defined plantation which consisted of the engenho and about fifteen supplier farms. In a hypothetical composite of many specific cases, a senhor de engenho grew a small amount of cane on his mill lands and owned perhaps three or four cane fazendas which he rented to share-croppers. He processed their cane as well as that cultivated by another three or four lavradores who owned their own farms but who were bound in perpetuity to supply his mill. In addition, he annually competed for cane from the independent growers in his district. In order to keep his mill running profitably each season he had to keep his own farms staffed and he had to acquire as many milling pledges as possible. To do so he might lower land usage rates, sell land, or make strategic loans.

The relationship between the senhor de engenho and the lavrador rested on mutual dependence, but the balance shifted according to who controlled the land, who had rights over the cane produced, and the intensity of competition among mill owners for supplies of cane. The 2000 cane growers who supplied the mills formed a diverse group in terms of land tenure, milling obligations, financial resources, and origins. In this period independent growers constituted a signifcant proportion of all planters, and it is likely that a quarter to one-third of the growers were related by blood or marriage to the senhores they supplied.

The plantation required a large and diversified labor force that was distributed by location and ownership among the mills and farms. The bulk of this labor force worked in the fields, but the

manufacturing process and maintenance of the physical plant added a layer of skilled and semi-skilled laborers and technicians who resided mainly on the engenhos and larger farms. In addition, the sheer size and commercialized nature of the sugar estate required people to perform clerical, supervisory, and special tasks on a full or part-time basis. Apart from functional distinctions, the importation of black slaves and the processes of manumission, miscegenation, and acculturation further diversified laborers and employees in terms of racial and cultural background and status as slave or freeman.

Even this brief survey of plantation labor reveals that a hierarchy developed in which function, status, and ethnic background paralleled one another in a rough sense. The gulf was widest between a free white skilled employee and an enslaved black field laborer, but the lines dividing the middle categories often blurred. The presence of black slaves and their mixed and sometimes free descendants in all but the highest staff positions suggests a modest form of movement, limited and selective as it may have been, even in what is often considered the most rigid and static areas of colonial society.[59]

Having described the basic structure of the Bahian plantation and the variety of socio-economic categories it nurtured, we can look at that structure more analytically to determine its fundamental characteristics and their social implications. Two closely related features seem particularly important: The growing and processing of sugar represented an expensive and risky undertaking and,

for various reasons, the plantation was a highly unstable and fluid economic entity. The next section of this discussion of sugar society explores the high cost and instability of the plantation and the ways in which planters confronted these problems.

NOTES

1. By far the best description of the colonial sugar plantation is André João Antonil (Giovanni Antônio Andreoni), Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas, ed. and extensively annotated by Andrée Mansuy (Paris, 1968). This work was originally published in 1711, although the section on sugar most likely was composed between 1693 and 1698. For a sampling of other contemporary descriptions of of the plantation at various points during the colonial era see: Sousa, Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587. Brandão, Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil (1618). The late eighteenth-century correspondence of Luis dos Santos Vilhena recently published as A Bahia no século xviii (3 vols.; Salvador, 1969), esp. Vol. I. For modern studies see: Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy." Wanderley Pinho, História de um engenho no Recôncavo. Frédéric Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII^{e} siècle 1570-1670 (Paris, 1960), pp. 183-257.

2. See for example: Francisco José de Oliveira Vianna, Populações meridionais do Brasil, Vol. I: Populações rurais do centro-sul (5th ed.; Rio, 1952), pp. 27-32, and his Introdução a história social da economia pre-capitalista no Brasil (Rio, 1958), p. 41 and passim. Freyre, Casa grande e senzala, I, xli, 23-30; II, 597 ff. Caio Prado, Formação do Brasil contemporâneo, pp. 288-290, 346-347, 366. Pedro Calmon, História social do Brasil, Vol. I: Espírito da sociedade colonial (São Paulo, 1937), pp. 22-23, 39-43. Florestan Fernandes, A revolução burguesa no Brasil (Rio, 1975), pp. 23-26.

3. João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, Estratificação social no Brasil (Rio, 1965), pp. 17-20. Celso Furtado, The Economic Growth of Brazil, trans. by Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Charles Dripdale (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 43-58. The characterization of the mill owner as capitalist is implicit in the dependency theory of Ander Gundar Frank which seeks to explain Brazil's colonial past and present underdevelopment in terms of its early integration into aninternational capitalist structure. See his Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil (New York and London, 1969) pp. 145-155, 221 ff. For a recent criticism of this approach see Fernandes, A revolução burguesa no Brasil, pp. 16-29. For a summary of the related and long-standing debate about the presence of feudal and capitalist elements in the entire colonial enterprise see the discussion and bibliography in Raymundo Faoro, Os donos do poder. Formação do patronato político brasileiro (2 vols., 2nd rev. ed.; São Paulo, 1975), I, 127-137.

4. Freyre, Casa grande e senzala, I, xlv-xlvi, 86, 89. Gilberto Freyre, Sobrados e mucambos (3 vols., 2nd ed.; Rio and São Paulo, 1951) I, 13 ff., 144. Caio Prado, Formação do Brasil

contemporâneo, pp. 127, 285, 366. Furtado, The Economic Growth of Brazil, pp. 58, 66-70.

5. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 110-111, 119-121.

6. Freyre, Sobrados e mucambos, I, 121 ff. Caio Prado, Formação do Brasil contemporâneo, pp. 228-236, 294-297.

7. Kennedy, "Bahian Elites, 1750-1822," 431-432. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. IX.

8. Iguape parish fell within the jurisdiction of the vila of Cachoeira, which was created in 1698. Sergipe do Conde was raised to the status of vila in 1698 also, and Santo Amaro became a vila in 1724.

9. Documentos para a história do açúcar, Vol. I: Legislação (Rio, 1954), pp. 45-62. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 16, docs. 18 and 18a, 1722.

10. Maria Isabel de Albuquerque, "Liberdade e limitação dos engenhos de açúcar," Anais do Primeiro Congresso de História da Bahia, II (1950), 491-499. DHBNRJ, LXXXVIII, consulta 7 Oct. 1681, p. 209. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1681, fs. 6v-7; 1682, fs. 19-19v, 21-21v.

11. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1723, fs. 47-48v.

12. Sebastião da Rocha Pita, História da America Portuguesa, ed. by Pedro Calmon (São Paulo, 1965), p. 16. For António da Rocha Pita's mills see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 81-84; Livro 12, 1698, fs. 133v-136; Livro 15, 1699, fs. 202v-204. The estimate that one-fifth of senhores were multiple owners is based on a survey of eighty mill owners profiled in chap. 4. In a list of owners in 1755, 17% possessed more than one mill. José António Caldas, Notícia geral desta capitania da Bahia desde o seu descobrimento até o presente ano de 1759 (Facsimile ed.; Salvador, 1951), pp. 429-438.

13. For terminology see: Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 77-79. Rocha Pita, História, p. 16. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 601, 1710, fs. 250-250v; Vol. 13, doc. 102, 1714. Cartas do Senado, III, 1685, p. 4.

14. José Pinheiro da Silva, "A Capitania da Baía," RPH, VIII (1959), 190-191.

15. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 200-202. Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, p. 206. DHBNRJ, LXXXVIII, consulta of 7 Oct. 1681, p. 209.

16. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 166. To cite only two of numerous examples, senhores de engenho João Lopes Fiuza and António Guedes de Paiva owned cattle ranches. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1706, fs. 161-167. Testamento e Inventario de 1741, no. 4.623.

17. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 152. For example, senhor de engenho Antonio Pães de Aragão owned manioc plots in Rio Vermelho. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18, 1701, fs. 189v-190v. For the law of 1688 and lack of compliance see AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1688, fs. 132-132v; 1701, fs. 137-138. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1721, fs. 258-258v.

18. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1704, fs. 109-113. The average of fifteen growers per mill is consistent with the range found by Schwartz in his study of the engenho Sergipe do Conde (see note 19). A century earlier it was estimated that the Recôncavo had 63 mills and more than 600-700 fazendas, or approximately ten farms per mill. P. Jacome Monteiro "Relação da Província do Brasil 1610" in Serafim Leite, História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil (10 vols.; Rio and Lisbon, 1938-1950), VIII, 393-425.

19. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," pp. 147-197.

20. For a description of the basic categories see Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," pp. 153-159.

21. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 156.

22. APB-SJ; Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 110v-112.

23. For overbuilding see the sources cited in note 10. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 88. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 196. Schwartz notes that growers were also attracted by the mines in the interior, although rates began dropping before the opening of the mines. "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," pp. 195-197.

24. For examples of rentals at fixed fees see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1696, fs. 20-22. Livro 17, 1701, fs. 207-208v. Livro 27, 1712, fs. 126v-127v. In all cases the landlords were not mill owners.

25. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 158.

26. For example see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 5, 1686, fs. 158v-160v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 217-218v, together with Livro 22, 1706, fs. 27-28v. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 27v-29.

27. MHRJ: Wanderley Pinho collection (uncatalogued), Pacote 10, doc. of 25 Feb. 1699-1706, fs. 1-125v.

28. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 193-194v, 202v-204.

29. See for example: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 14, 1698, fs. 2-4v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 217-218v.

30. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 24, 1710, fs. 165-166.

31. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 156.

32. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 12v-13v. See also: Livro 15, 1699, fs. 207-208. Livro 11, 1697, fs. 97v-99v.

33. For example, see the sales listed in Appendix 1. Other sources such as mortgages also provided property descriptions.

34. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 218v-220.

35. See together: Jaboatão, "Catálogo genealógico de fr. Antônio de Santa Maria Jaboatão adaptado e desenvolvido por Afonso Costa," RIHGB, XCI (1946), 220. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1701, f. 132. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1696, fs. 38v-39v; 1697, fs. 128-129v, 160v-162v. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 193-196. Livro 16, 1700, fs. 169v-171v. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 160v-162, 156-156v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 57v-58v.

36. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1697, fs. 189-191v. Livro 22, 1706, fs. 27-28v. Livro 26, 1712, fs. 3v-5. Barros: Livro 14, 1698, fs. 41v-42v. Pinto: Livro 11, 1697, fs. 109-110. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 73v-75. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 12v-14. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1691, fs. 789-790. Atas da Camara, VI, 1685, 35-36.

37. Brito de Castro: Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 146. Albuquerque, "Liberdade e limitação dos engenhos," pp. 491-499. Atas da Camara, V, 1681, 312-315. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 22, 1707, fs. 158-159. Livro 29, 1713, fs. 19-20. Araújo Góes: Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 121. Notas, Capital, Livro 5, 1686, fs. 125v-126v. Livro 17, 1700, fs. 31v-33v. Livro 18, 1700, fs. 8-9v, 166v-168.

38. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 112-114. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 20, 1704, fs. 82v-83v. Livro 38, 1722, fs. 18-21. Notas,

Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1701, fs. 36v-40. Livro 3, 1706, fs. 161-167. Livro 5, 1710, fs. 127-128v. Livro 11, 1720, fs. 163v-166. Livro 16, 1725, fs. 114v-115v (sale of 1706).

39. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 177.

40. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 174.

41. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 86-88. The figure of eighty mill slaves is usually cited for the Jesuit-owned Engenho do Conde, but this was one of the largest mills on the Recôncavo. Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, p. 213. In the early seventeenth century Brandão wrote that the mill required fifty peças, but he too was referring to the larger engenhos. Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil, p. 87. Schwartz estimates a range of one to thirty slaves for each cane farm, and the notarial contracts for the period 1680-1725 suggest about the same range (three to twenty-five). Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 175.

42. For the use of terms consult Edison Carneiro, Ladinos e crioulos (Rio, 1964). See for comparison: Lockhart, Spanish Peru, pp. 175-176.

43. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 84.

44. For the selection of ladinos and mulatos for mill tasks see Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 122-124, and sample contracts: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18, 1701, fs. 148v-150v. Livro 23, 1710, fs. 262v-267v.

45. For dowries see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 4, 1684, fs. 183v-184v. Livro 5, 1686, fs. 40-40v. Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 79-80. The classic study of these slaves is Freyre's Casa grande e senzala.

46. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 24, 1710, fs. 169-170. Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1705, fs. 133-134v; 1706, fs. 161-167.

47. For detailed descriptions of the duties of each see: Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 112 ff.

48. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 4, 1684, fs. 121-122. Livro 33, 1719, fs. 66-67v. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 3, doc. 59, 1695; Vol. 7, doc. 441, 1707, fs. 190v-191. Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, 189.

49. "Parecer de Wenceslão Pereira da Silva," 12 Feb. 1738, in Eduardo de Castro e Almeida, ed., Inventario dos documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar de Lisboa

(8 vols.; Rio, 1913-1936), I, 27-31.

50. AMB: Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.2, 1673, fs. 53-54v. See also: Provisoes Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1697, fs. 186v-187. Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.3, 1694, fs. 258-260. Vol. 124.4, 1698, fs. 220v-226v; 1699, fs. 278v-280v. Vol. 124.6, 1701, fs. 83v-84. Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1728, fs. 122v-124; 1738, fs. 194-195.

51. Costa Porto, Nos tempos do visitador (Recife, 1968), p. 107.

52. For detailed descriptions of the duties of each see Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 108 ff.

53. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 100-104.

54. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 81-82.

55. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 78-78v.

56. See the countless "Escrituras de procuração bastante" in the Notas collection. For one study of patron-client networks based on this type of source see: Stephanie Blank, "Patrons, Clients, and Kin in Seventeenth-Century Caracas: A Methodological Essay in Colonial Spanish American Social History," HAHR, LIV (May, 1974), 260-283.

57. The tasks of likely candidates, the feitores and caixeiros, were too specialized to encompass over-all administration, particularly as these positions are described in Antonil. For the mayordomo in Spanish America see Lockhart, Spanish Peru.

58. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 7, 1715, fs. 39v-40v (copy of transaction of 1706). Notas, Capital, Livro 30, 1714, fs. 123v-126.

59. Faoro, Os donos do poder, I, 216.

CHAPTER III

THE BAHIAN SUGAR PLANTATION: FINANCING AND PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP

Both contemporary observers and modern students of the Bahian plantation agree that the cultivation and manufacturing of sugar involved considerable expense. Individual investments, of course, varied over a wide range. When a senhor de engenho purchased or built a mill his intial investment covered the mill lands, a residence, slave and employee quarters, the engenho plant, large copper vats and other processing equipment, miscellaneous tools, boats and carts, draft animals, as many as fifty or even more mill slaves, and the land supporting any cane farms he acquired. The transactions listed in Appendix 1 and summarized in Table 2 below indicate the amounts paid by senhores de engenho for mills between 1684 and 1725. These figures do not measure investments in entire plantation complexes, because, as has been emphasized, ownership of land and slaves was divided among the miller and cane growers. The sample is intended to demonstrate the relatively large amount of capital a senhor de engenho invested in his share of the sugar complex. The sale prices have been adjusted to exclude slaves in order to make engenho values comparable.

Engenho values ranged from an exceptionally low 3500 cruzados to a high of 84,500 cruzados, and the average value calculated from seventeen examples was about 38,000 cruzados. The average may be a bit

TABLE 2

VALUES OF SUGAR MILLS AND CANE FARMS REGISTERED IN NOTARIAL CONTRACTS, 1684-1725

Property	Range	Average
Sugar Mills (17)	3,500-84,500 cruzados[a] (1400$000-33.800$000)	38,000 cruzados (15.200$000)
Cane Farms (51)	1,500-17,000 cruzados (600$000-6800$000)	6,400 cruzados (2560$000)

[a]1000 cruzados = 400$000

Sources: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 4-42, 1684-1725. Notas, Cachoeira, Livros 1-16, 1700-1726.

low, since the sales included some mills transferred after fragmentation and deterioration. If the average mill, worth 38,000 cruzados, required 30 mill slaves, the senhor's investment increased another 11,250 cruzados or so at prices current in the early eighteenth century.[1] The average investment total of slightly under 50,000 cruzados in this period was more than twice the 20,000-cruzado average one contemporary estimated for the 1660's.[2]

A comparison of two engenhos, Crus de Torres and Agua Boa, exemplifies the range of investments. The old Engenho Crus de Torres, which had been built in the sixteenth century, was located near the city in the parish of Paripe. The heart of the establishment was a two-story stone residence with a garden, a water-powered mill, numerous outbuildings, and an enclosed pasture. In 1684, at a time when the heavily mortgaged engenho had no attached farms, the mill

sold for 23,000 cruzados. By 1712 a still for making cane brandy had been installed and the mill lands had expanded to include eight cane farms which were all rented out to sharecroppers. Now at a high point, Crus de Torres changed hands for the large sum of 84,500 cruzados. In contrast the Engenho Agua Boa, located in a newly-opened area in Sergipe do Conde, sold in 1699 for 12,000 cruzados, or about 14% of the 1712 value of Crus de Torres. A single-story thatched residence, an animal-driven mill, slave quarters, and an enclosed pasture formed the core of this modest estate. The mill lands, still in the process of development, included an extensive wooded tract, but unlike Crus de Torres, Agua Boa did not have any attached cane farms at this point, although there was "some cane planted" and transferred in the sale.[3]

Unless the cane grower owned and staffed several large farms, he normally invested much less capital in his estate than did the senhor de engenho. In 51 sales of farms, buyers paid from 1500 cruzados to 17,000 cruzados, or an average of 6400 cruzados per cane farm, not counting slave labor. If an average farm required 12 slaves, the capital outlay climbed another 3000 cruzados or so.[4] Thus in this period the senhor de engenho required aobut 50,000 cruzados and the landed lavrador needed about 10,000 cruzados to purchase and staff a mill or farm. Even the landless sharecropper, whose single most important investment was in slave labor, required several thousand cruzados to purchase the fabrica necessary to operate a fazenda. These figures are very rough indeed; they do not begin to account for annual maintenance and replacement costs, the salaries paid to free

employees and retainers, or the interest due on any money borrowed.[5] But they do indicate the exclusiveness of sugar production as an economic pursuit, and they provide a comparison of the initial capital needs of millers and growers.

Compounding the problem of generally high capital requirements, at the turn of the century producers faced spiraling costs which were not matched by compensatory boosts in the volume of production or in the price of sugar. By this time the expansive, prosperous years of Brazil's first sugar cycle and her monopoly of the world market were long past. The demand for Bahian sugar was at best stable after northern Europeans developed their own sources in the West Indies and production expanded in other parts of Brazil. Thus far it has not been possible to reconstruct a series of yearly production figures. However, contemporary estimates from the 1680's through the 1720's consistently report a "normal" production volume of between 14,500 and 16,000 chests of sugar, which, at an average of 35 arrobas per chest, amounted to between 500,000 and 560,000 arrobas per year. All but about 500 chests was destined for export. (See Table 1, pp. 26-28.) It should be noted that while the period of interest here is often viewed as the beginning of a long-term decline of the Bahian sugar sector, "normal" production did not fall off until after the 1720's.[6]

While production remained fairly stable, except for yearly fluctuations, costs climbed throughout the period. The opening of the gold mines in the interior of Brazil at the end of the seventeenth

century accelerated an upward swing in the prices of slaves, copper, iron, and other imports which had begun in the eighties or nineties. The demand for imports of all kinds in the mining centers drove coastal prices up as much as 100-200%. In the nineties the Salvador council and Antonil both noted that slaves which had once cost 40$000 or 50$000 now sold for 80-100$000. Similar complaints continued through the early eighteenth century, and by the 1720's, new slaves reportedly fetched 200$000. Slave traders acknowledged the rise in slave prices, but they pointed out that planter complaints tended to quote maximum prices paid for top slaves sold in the mines.[7] Both sides may have exaggerated to serve their own interests, but both notarial registers and the accounts of the Jesuit Engenho Sergipe do Conde confirm an inflationary trend.[8] Table 3 shows that the average value of slaves sold in the plantation zone doubled between 1690 and 1725. As one

TABLE 3

AVERAGE VALUES OF SLAVES SOLD IN THE PLANTATION ZONE, 1690-1725

Years	Number	Av. Value
1690-1699	81	62$654
1700-1709	112	86$080
1710-1725	111	123$378

Source: APB-SJ: Livros de Notas, Capital, Livros 7-42, 1690-1725. Notas, Cachoeira, Livros 1-16, 1700-1726.

might expect, the figures in Table 3 are lower than the maximum prices cited above for new slaves because they represent an average for slaves of both sexes and all ages.

Pressed by rising costs, planters struggled to get the highest possible prices for their sugar. In this period buyers and sellers in Bahia annually selected representatives to determine prices. The concerned parties were all interested in maximizing their own profits, but a variety of factors, such as the quality and volume of the year's harvest, had to be taken into consideration in these negotiations. Planters were particularly concerned about their rising costs, while merchants, relying on reports from their correspondents abroad about prices, supply, and general marketing conditions, worried about keeping Bahian sugar competitive. The extant proceedings of eleven negotiations in the early eighteenth century reveal that on four occasions planters and merchants reached a speedy and amicable settlement; seven meetings ended in deadlock and the final prices were arbitrated by the governor, whose decisions slightly favored planter interests.[9]

A planter who found the official prices unacceptable might export his sugar to Portugal on his own account and risk. In 1708, for example, when merhcants were hesitant to buy sugar except at very low prices because of record crops in other sugar-producing regions, they suggested that planters export their own produce. It is not clear how often or how many planters dealt directly with buyers in Portugal rather than selling their sugar in Bahia, but

the practice was not unknown.[10]

The incomplete price series available suggests that sugar prices did improve somewhat in the first three decades of the eighteenth century in comparison to the preceding period. Prices which ranged between $800 and 1$200 per arroba of white sugar and occasionally higher (1$500-1$600) during the seventeenth century, moved up to between 1$200 and 1$600 with an occasional high of 2$100-2$200. (See Table 1.) The increase, however, only partially compensated for the 100% or more rise in planters' costs.

Apart from the economic problems peculiar to this period, sugar production for export was always a highly risky business. Throughout the colonial era, bad weather, plagues, and labor shortages periodically disrupted Bahian production, while shipping problems, a poor or abundant harvest in Barbados or Rio, and other factors over which planters exerted no control, all directly affected pricing and marketing abroad. Most of the eighties and the early nineties were a time of severe crisis, both because a plague of 1681-83 made it impossible for many farms and mills to work at full capacity and because of marketing problems in Europe from 1686-1693. The situation improved for Bahian producers from the mid-nineties throught the first decades of the eighteenth century, although a poor harvest was reported in 1701, a hard winter limited production in 1714, and droughts and labor shortages drastically cut the harvests of 1723, 1727, and 1728.[11]

When disaster of one kind or another struck, some planters met ruin while others held on, deeply in debt, in hopes of recouping

losses in a fairer year. Rising costs and the chronic instability of production and marketing accentuated the planter's need for capital and good credit connections. Millers and growers alike required resources not only for initial investments and normal yearly expenses, but for riding out the years when no profits would be forthcoming.

To finance the purchase of sugar properties, producers relied both on their future sugar profits and on local sources of credit. Typically the buyer of a farm or mill made a downpayment in cash or sugar, assumed a number of debts owed by the seller, and paid the remaining sum in yearly installments due when the fleet gathered in the Salvador harbor. In most contracts which allowed for payment in sugar, both parties agreed that its evaluation would reflect official prices established when the fleet arrived. In a representative transaction dated 1698, Gaspar Pereira de Albuquerque purchased a mill in Matoim from his brother-in-law, Domingos Barbosa de Amorim. The animal-powered engenho, 12 slaves, and the perpetual milling obligations (but not the land) of four cane farms sold for 28,000 cruzados. On the day of the sale Albuquerque made a cash down payment of 1,925 cruzados, or about seven percent of the total price. To cover another 10,000 cruzados of the purchase price, he agreed to assume debts the seller owed seven different Salvador merchants, the Third Order of Carmo, and the amount due on property purchased sometime in the past. Finally, he promised to pay the remaining amount in yearly installments of 1250 cruzados.[12]

Once the buyer acquired certain of the seller's outstanding financial obligations, he either paid them directly or proceeded to renegotiate each with the individual creditors. The transfer of debts appears commonly in sales of all kinds and in loan contracts, and notes could pass through several hands before the principal was finally satisfied. Multiple transfers built a complicated set of credit relations in which most men of property, like all businessmen, were to some extent both creditors and debtors.[13]

When yearly sugar profits were not sufficient to meet costs, or when cash was needed for expansion, sugar producers appealed to various kinds of creditors. The three tables below provide information about the principal sources of credit in colonial Bahia in this period and the distribution of funds among competing socio-economic groups. Tables 4 and 5 are based on a series of 300 loan agreements registered with Salvador notaries between 1698 and 1715. The 300 contracts represented loans totaling 242.778$000, or about 607,000 cruzados. About three-quarters of this amount changed hands in currency, while the remainder consisted of renegotiations of loans extended at an earlier date.[14]

The contracting parties negotiated sums ranging from about 250 cruzados to as much as 10,000 cruzados, but the amounts most often mentioned fell between 1000 and 2000 cruzados, or enough to cover the cost of four to eight slaves. In many cases the contract stated the purpose of the loan, which might be "to supply my mill and farms," "to buy a fazenda," "to purchase the fabrica," "to buy a house," "for

merchandise," or "for business." At least on paper, loans were made at the maximum legal annual interest rate of 6¼% for a period of one year or until the creditor demanded satisfaction. Clearly, the short-term specifications were interpreted loosely, and most loans remained outstanding for longer periods. The requirements for collateral and/or a co-signer (fiador) varied, but most often a lien was placed on the property of the borrower. Where a fiador was required, this co-signer put up all his goods or a specific piece of property for security, and became legally obligated to cover any defaulting on the part of the debtor. In some cases two fiadores secured a loan; one assumed responsibility for the principal and the other guaranteed the interest payments.

As the figures in Table 4 indicate, Bahians with collateral and good credit connections turned to a variety of money-lenders. Together, Salvador's religious institutions constituted the single most important source of cash loans, accounting for 45.3% of the total sum placed on loan. The Santa Casa was by far the most prominent lending institution, followed at some distance by the Santa Teresa monastery, the Santa Clara convent, the Third Orders of São Francisco and Carmo, the cathedral chapter of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament, the Brotherhood of Santo António (seated in the mercantile parish of Conceição da Praia), and the clerical Irmandade de São Pedro.[15]

Not surprisingly, among private citizens, Salvador's merchants most often functioned as money-lenders. In the sample of 300 contracts these men, who were usually businessmen (homens de negocio)

TABLE 4

SOURCES OF CREDIT IN COLONIAL BAHIA: ANALYSIS OF 300 LOAN AGREEMENTS BY IDENTITY OF CREDITOR, 1698-1715

No. of Trans.	Creditor	Sum of Trans.	% of All Trans.
125	Institutions	110.037$000	45.3
	Santa Casa	64.211$000	26.4
	Santa Teresa	8.633$000	3.6
	Santa Clara	7.788$000	3.2
	3rd Order São Francisco	6.715$000	2.8
	3rd Order Carmo	4.560$000	1.9
	Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament	4.240$000	1.7
	Brotherhood of Santo Antônio, Conceição	4.400$000	1.8
	Clerical Order of São Pedro	3.800$000	1.6
	Others	5.700$000	2.3
61	Merchants	60.277$000	24.8
6	Merchant-Planters	3.473$000	1.4
46	Professionals	30.311$000	12.5
21	Mill owners	17.624$000	7.3
14	Artisans	5.820$000	2.4
7	Cane growers, tobacco growers, cattlemen	4.526$000	1.9
9	Privately administered legacies and capellas de misas	3.286$000	1.4
11	Undetermined	7.422$000	3.0
300	All Creditors	242.776$000	100.0

Sources: Biographical files together with the loan agreements registered in APB-SJ; Notas, Capital, Livros 12-31, 1698-1715.

rather than shopkeepers or vendors, supplied 24.8% of the funds distributed. Another important porportion (12.5%) came from professionals resident in the city, that is, clerics and lawyers as well as a few military and royal officials. Even senhores de engenho accounted for part (7.3%) of the money loaned; in most cases they granted financial assistance to growers in exchange for milling rights, an arrangement discussed in the previous chapter.[16]

The variety of creditors revealed in this sample is noteworthy. Certain borrowers could turn to alternative sources of capital when one source became exhausted. The debt histories normally included in property sales confirm the reliance of planters on several sources of credit. For example, the engenho sales summarized in Appendix 1 show that by the time of sale some mill owners had mortgaged their mills to ten or twelve different institutional and private creditors.

The figures in Table 5, based on the same series of 300 contracts, show the distribution of the 242.776$000 among various kinds of borrowers. Significantly, over half of the total placed on loan accrued to sugar producers; 35% passed to senhores de engenho, while 16.8% went to lavradores de cana who were almost always landowning growers rather than sharecroppers. The mill owners most often borrowed from institutions, merchants, and from professionals. The growers tapped the same sources and, of course, they also obtained loans from millers. Other major borrowers were merchants of all kinds, who garnered 17.4% of the total sum, and tobacco growers and cattlemen, who received 9.8%.

TABLE 5

ACCESS TO CREDIT IN COLONIAL BAHIA: ANALYSIS OF 300 LOAN AGREEMENTS BY IDENTITY OF BORROWER, 1698-1715

No. of Trans.	Borrower	Sum of Trans.	% of Sum All Trans.
61	Mill owners	84.929$000	35.0
61	Cane growers	40.740$000	16.8
52	Merchants	42.167$000	17.4
11	Merchant-Planters	12.275$000	5.0
30	Tobacco growers and cattlemen	23.675$000	9.8
33	Artisans	14.916$000	6.1
23	Professionals	12.565$000	5.2
3	Institutions	2.735$000	1.1
26	Undetermined	8.774$000	3.6
300	All borrowers	242.776$000	100.0

Sources: See source note for Table 4.

The figures in Table 6 permit a glance at the allocation of funds by the city's single most important lender, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia. In 1727 an accounting was made of all loans outstanding and amounting to 374.124$000, or 935,310 cruzados. From my biographical files I have identified the individuals who owed about 85% of that sum. The distribution summarized in Table 6 shows that the senhor de engenho's comparatively good access to credit was particularly striking

with regard to the Santa Casa. That institution always favored its own membership, but it was especially generous to its mill-owning members. Fully 45% of the total sum of 374.124$000 had been loaned--often in large quantities of several thousand cruzados--to senhores de engenho.[17]

TABLE 6

ACCESS TO CREDIT IN COLONIAL BAHIA: SANTA CASA LOANS OUTSTANDING BY IDENTITY OF BORROWER, 1727

No. of Trans.	Borrower	Sum of Trans.	% of All Trans.
73	Mill owners	168.373$000	45.0
44	Cane growers	28.626$000	7.7
33	Merchants	49.663$000	13.3
14	Merchant-Planters	19.209$000	5.1
27	Tobacco growers and cattlemen	20.461$000	5.4
18	Professionals	24.143$000	6.5
22	Artisans	8.677$000	2.3
3	Institutions	4.022$000	1.1
69	Undetermined	50.950$000	13.6
303	All Borrowers	374.124$000	100.0

Sources: Biographical files and IHGB-RJ: Manuscritos. Évora. História do Brasil. "Memória do cabedal pertencente a Santa Casa da Misericórdia da Cidade da Bahia e dinheiro que tem dado." 1727 (copy).

The comparatively good access to credit demonstrated by sugar producers reflects the central role of sugar in the Bahian economy and the ability of planters to produce collateral. But of course not all producers had sources of credit at their command. The mill owners secured a far greater proportion of the available capital than the lavradores, and among the latter, the men with clear titles to their farms did much better than the sharecroppers. In addition, social factors played a vital part in the selection process. In the absence of banks and other impersonal credit institutions, personal ties weighed heavily in obtaining a loan, renegotiating it indefinitely, and delaying foreclosure. In some cases social connections counted more than the financial health of a particular mill or farm. In her study of the Santa Clara convent, Susan Soeiro has shown that the institution favored families of its members in distributing loans.[18] The Santa Casa clearly favored certain of its members and the men who comprised its governing boards, regardless of the risks involved. The 1727 report on loans and a general investigation into the sodality's finances revealed serious losses of capital and interest payments. Some unpaid loans had been negotiated as long as thirty or forty years in the past, and approximately a third of the total amount outstanding was either in litigation or classified as insecure or lost. The losses were attributed to mismanagement and favoritism in the allocation of funds.[19]

Such favoritism is not surprising since the same families often provided the legacies that supported these institutions. But

it should be emphasized that by affiliating themselves with Bahia's most prestigious religious institutions planters not only added to their social credentials, they also enhanced their access to credit.

The ability to produce a reputable co-signer, or fiador, was a definite advantage in competing for Bahia's limited supplies of cash and credit and in negotiating loan extensions. The fiadores used by senhores de engenho generally fell into one of two categories: They were either large resident merchants who regularly guaranteed loans for the most prominent planters, or they were relatives or long-time business partners of the borrowers. In either case the debtor and his co-signer were linked by some personal connection, either a long-standing business tie or kinship. For example, Nicolao Lopes Fiuza, who counted among the community's five or six richest homens de negocio, often co-signed loans for members of the mill-owning Aranha family. He occasionally acted as procurador, or proxy, in family business matters and even secured a renegotiated loan intended to save a shirt-tail Aranha relative from impending foreclosure.[20]

One prominent senhor de engenho named Pedro Barbosa Leal, who left a fortune when he died in the 1730's, relied on his business partner Custodio Barbosa Amorim--to whom he was also related by marriage--as well as his father-in-law Lourenço da Rocha Moutinho, and his brother-in-law Gabriel da Rocha Moutinho, whenever he required a fiador. In fact, the four men regularly served as agents, proxies, and fiadores for one another, forming a network based on kinship and common business and agricultural interests. Regional provenance may also have

been a binding element, since the Barbosa Leal, Rocha Moutinho, and Barbosa Amorim families all came originally from Viana in northern Portugal.[21]

The most vulnerable among sugar planters were those producers, and particularly the sharecroppers, who were cut off from the types of sources described above, in which institutional affiliations, land collateral, and personal ties mattered so much. This kind of planter purchased his yearly slave replacements and other needed goods from a merchant supplier on a short-term credit basis (four to six months). The lavrador offered his future harvest for security and paid the merchant in sugar from that year's crop at the end of the season. The strongest cries of usury directed towards merchants condemned the abuses of this particular system. Planters claimed that when payment fell due any time other than when the fleet arrived, or when sugar was confiscated to pay overdue debts, the creditors often evaluated sugar unfairly. The off-season rates fell as much as 100-200% below the official prices established when the fleet gathered. As a result the producers paid far more than they borrowed and generally fell deeper in debt. The planter caught in this trap and who possessed no other resources to draw upon could hardly survive long in what was a highly risky business to begin with.

Sugar-producing interests did what they could to assure the fair assessment of payments in kind. In the 1660's the powerful sugar lobby that operated through the Salvador municipal council obtained royal legislation requiring that sugar be evaluated according

to official rates by qualified assessors. They also inserted clauses that spelled out guidelines for fair evaluation of sugar payments in contracts of all kinds. These measures offered some legal protection, but complaints of underevaluation continued through the early years of the eighteenth century.[22]

When a heavily indebted senhor de engenho or landed lavrador had exhausted all possible sources of credit and could no longer renegotiate his obligations, his creditors took legal action to foreclose. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, capital goods, and particularly slaves, were confiscated and auctioned to satisfy creditors even when relatively small debts were involved. The planters complained that this procedure disrupted production, led to the dismantling of estates, and deprived the producer of the primary means he possessed for recovering his losses. Sugar interests petitioned for and received protection against this piecemeal foreclosure, first through the informal policies of two sympathetic governors and then, in 1663, by a royal provision that was periodically renewed. Thereafter, while capital goods and fabricas remained mortgaged to creditors, the latter could foreclose only on produce, that is, the yearly sugar harvest. Here again, the problem that remained had to do with the underevaluation of the produce which was confiscated and auctioned to pay debts. As noted above, this unfair practice was never completely eliminated.

Legislation did not offer blanket protection against foreclosure, nor was it intended to do so. Rather its main thrust was

to prevent foreclosure for small debts and the arbitrary confiscation of goods that made it impossible for the planter to continue production, recover his losses, and eventually settle his obligations. The provision of 1663 and its renewals did not specifically prohibit the auction of land and, from the property histories contained in contracts, it is clear that when debts mounted high enough--and this is the crucial point--whole productive units, such as a mill or a farm, could be and were legally auctioned.[23]

Social ties undoubtedly affected the actual collection of debts and the execution of foreclosure orders just as they entered into every other aspect of the credit system. Selective enforcement is suggested in occasional petitions to royal officials in which creditors requested intervention to pressure local officials to execute sentences. For example, one creditor, Bernardo Freire de Andrade, complained that the collection of debts owed him by persons living in the city and on the Recôncavo had been avoided because his debtors were poderosos (powerful men). Charges of compromised interests, favoritism, and laxity on the part of local officials generally come to us in the context of criminal cases and boundary disputes, but it may be assumed that the same forces operated with some regularity in conflicts over debt collection and foreclosure.[24]

The heavy capital investment required of sugar producers, the extension of credit, the transfer and renegotiation of debts, and legal protection against piecemeal foreclosure built a complicated structure of indebtedness that enveloped most of the sugar sector. No

contemporary observer wrote about sugar without underlining the acute indebtedness of producers, and modern writers echo the distress of planters who always included indebtedness among their many grievances.[25] Nevertheless, the role and importance of financial obligations must be viewed from a broad perspective. The point is, indebtedness by itself did not define a producer's economic well-being. Borrowing and long-term obligations permitted the expansion and development of sugar properties and enabled the planter to outlast periodic crises, even if they sometimes led to over-expansion and foreclosure.

For the individual, indebtedness became decisively negative only when loans could no longer be renegotiated and when new sources of credit were unobtainable. It should be clear by this point that more than financial or economic factors defined this limit. Access to local sources of cash, the ability to enlist a reputable co-signer or to extend obligations, and the power to delay collection and ward off foreclosure were all enhanced or diminished according to the planter's social connections.

Patterns of Ownership

Related to the high costs and risks of production and marketing was the instability that marked patterns of ownership in the sugar zone. Mills and farms tended to change hands frequently and the boundaries and composition of whole plantations (defined as a mill and its supplier farms) fluctuated constantly. It should be apparent by now that in part this fluidity was built into the structure of the

plantation when ownership was divided among the miller and various growers in order to share costs and risks. In addition, the vicissitudes of the sugar economy and the division of property among heirs exercised an erosive effect on the cohesiveness of plantations.

As has been indicated, although the provision of 1663 offered some protection against the confiscation of slaves and capital goods, it did not prevent the auction of whole productive units such as a farm or a mill. When a planter's financial obligations became excessive and he had exhausted his credit connections, he might find himself with little alternative but to sell his property or lose it on the auction block. In 1698, for example, João Coelho Escobar lost his mill at a public auction where it was sold for 29,000 cruzados to settle his accumulated debts.[26] In 1712, the widow Elena Leite dos Santos and her three sons sold their Engenho Pouco Ponto, its canefields, and sixteen slaves for 55,000 cruzados, most of which was committed to a variety of creditors. In the sale contract the widow explained that she was selling because of the many actions against her property, the many debts she owed, and because the mill was "in ruins." After losing their mill, she and her sons continued to operate at least one cane farm in the district.[27]

In another case, the Santa Casa headed a group of creditors who took legal action against a landowning lavrador named Domingos Antunes da Costa. This particular grower was well-connected socially because of his marriage into the powerful Aragão family of Cachoeira. Costa had been in financial trouble for years, but he had managed to

extend his credit and renegotiate loans with the help of propertied co-signers. In 1698 officials confiscated and auctioned some of his household goods and personal slaves in order to satisfy creditors, but a member of the Aragão family bailed him out by purchasing the property and transfering it to the planter's wife and three daughters. However, by 1706 Costa's luck had run out. His large cane farm in Cachoeira and an unspecified number of slaves brought 28,500 cruzados at a public auction. The buyer, a high court judge, settled Costa's 7000-cruzado account with the Santa Casa and made arrangements to yearly divide 3000 cruzados among the remaining creditors until all debts were cancelled.[28]

If the stress of periodic crises and growing indebtedness did not immediately force the sale of a mill, it might fragment the senhor de engenho's estate as attached farms were auctioned or sold. In the difficult nineties for example, Francisco Monis de Sousa managed to hold on to his mill, but one of his farms was confiscated and he was forced to sell another to pay debts.[29] In the same decade another senhor de engenho, Affonso da França, lost his Cotegipe estate in pieces. He sold one farm, another was confiscated, and in 1698, when his mill was no longer functioning, he sold it and a third farm.[30]

The changing composition of plantations broken up in this way was accompanied by the consolidation of new estates. While economic pressures forced some lavradores and senhores to sell all or part of their sugar holdings, new senhores de engenho, particularly immigrant merchants, literally picked up the pieces. In the eighties and nineties,

Manuel Mendes Monforte added several fazendas to his Engenho São Bernardo, while Antonio da Rocha Pita rebuilt at least three mills acquired from families unable to weather the late seventeenth-century crises.[31] Another enterprising newcomer, Manuel Alvares Seixas, purchased a mill and gradually attached to it five fazendas acquired from different sellers between 1690 and 1720.[32]

The periodic division of property among heirs also influenced patterns of ownership and exercised a potentially disruptive effect on production. Most histories of Brazil describe the immense holdings of the Guedes de Brito and Dias d'Ávila families along the São Francisco river as examples of colonial latifundia and entailed estates. It is significant, however, that mill owners did not commonly entail their coastal sugar estates, at least through the first decades of the eighteenth century. I found only two examples of engenhos locked in entail and countless examples of divided properties. It is likely that planters found entail (a morgado) to be essentially incompatible with the structure of the Bahian plantation; that is, the senhor de engenho simply could not afford to staff and manage an entire plantation complex, and the lavradores would agree to share the costs and risks only if there was a reasonable expectation of land ownership.[33]

The impact of divison following the death of an owner depended on a combination of factors including the size of the total estate, the number of legitimate heirs, the extent of indebtedness, and whether or not the deceased and a spouse held communal property rights (carta de metade).[34] It was at the time of death that many long

outstanding obligations surfaced and had to be settled or renegotiated. Normally some agreement had to be reached within the family to clarify the confusion created by multiple ownership of a mill estate; to handle debts, to ratify milling agreements, and to apportion land and slaves. Otherwise the indiscriminate sale of essential slaves, the loss of milling obligations, or any number of things could seriously hamper production.

The provisions of such settlements might be outlined in a will and/or written up formally by concerned heirs in a family agreement, or concerto. Ultimately the success of these arrangements depended on the strength and quality of family ties, but at least the more astute among planters recognized the importance of planned inheritance to the successful and uninterrupted operation of a plantation.

The will and subsequent settlement of the estate of Paulo de Argolo, for example, specifically cautioned that three sugar engenhos and their"accessories" and fabricas were essentially inseparable and their division among thirteen heirs would be harmful to the interests of all. Thus it was agreed that each engenho and its attached parts would pass to one of the older children who would then assume responsibility for the inheritances of the others. Accordingly, one son, Francisco Antônio de Argolo e Queirós, received the Engenho Cinco Rios together with its canefields, pastures, the physical plant, a residence, chapel, slave quarters, tools, livestock, the land of one attached cane farm, and eighty-three slaves. In turn Francisco agreed

to pay the portions due eight or nine other heirs. He signed a formal obligation to this effect, mortgaged the Engenho Cinco Rios to his siblings, and promised not to alienate mill property in any way. It may be added that the Argolos were among the oldest sugar families in Bahia. The founder, Rodrigo Argolo, had come to the new capital in 1549 in the party of Governor-general Tomé de Sousa. It is probable that their longevity in the unpredictable sugar sector derived in part from planned inheritances and the successful operation of agreements of the kind described here.[35]

In another example, the exceptionally large estate of João Lopes Fiuza was divided among four heirs in such a way as to maintain the administration and ownership of productive units intact in the hands of a single individual or married couple (casal). Following the death of João Lopes Fiuza in 1741, an inventory was made of the sizable and varied properties jointly held by him and his widow Dona Eugenia Teresa. In 1746 a formal division (partilha) disposed of the estate according to the general provisions of Fiuza's will and the directions of his executors who were, in this case, his wife and eldest son. Once funeral expenses and assorted debts were subtracted, the holdings of the Fiuza casal were valued at an impressive 92.390$578, or about 231,000 cruzados. Half belonged to the widow Dona Eugenia Teresa and the other half pertained to the deceased. Following the provisions of his will, Fiuza's terça--the third of his share of the joint estate which he could legally dispose of as he

wished--was used to establish a perpetual capela de misas in the chapel located on one of his mills. The remaining two-thirds of his share was divided equally among his three children.

In 1746 the family members assumed control of two sugar mills, the Engenho São Pedro de Tararipe and the Engenho de Baixo (or Nossa Senhora do Desterro), and various cane farms. The widow Dona Eugenia retained the Engenho de Baixo with all its slaves and "accessories," and two attached cane farms. The eldest son, João Lopes Fiuza Barretto, took possession of a third and neighboring farm in the same parish. João had administered the Engenho de Baixo for his parents as early as 1739-1740, and this entire complex in Sergipe was intended for him when his mother died. A more distant farm in Patatiba went to the second son and Jesuit priest, Jeronimo Monis, and the Engenho São Pedro de Tararipe in Santo Amaro, with all its slaves and "accessories," passed to the third child, Dona Teresa Eugenia de Meneses, and her husband. In addition, various cattle, tobacco, and manioc properties, as well as financial notes, gold, silver, personal slaves, and miscellaneous items were distributed among the four heirs in order to assure a fair over-all settlement for each. In this particular case, the sheer extent of the entire estate, the relatively small number of heirs, and careful planning permitted a logical division that kept productive sugar units reasonably intact.[36]

Still other family contracts resolved the problem of multiple ownership in ways suitable to the circumstances. One heir might simply purchase the sharesof other heirs if he was in a position

to do so.[37] Two or three heirs might form a partnership (sociedade) to administer an engenho estate and share the costs and profits equally. For example, following the death of their father, Domingos Dias Machado and Pedro Paes Machado formed a sociedade to administer their inherited mill and its attached farms in Capanema. When Pedro died in 1696 he left his half of this estate to his widow, Dona Antónia de Araújo Aragão, and his minor son and namesake Pedro. Dona Antónia remarried four years later and another family agreement concerning the engenho was reached. In what was partially a sale, a trade for urban real estate, and a gift to his young nephew, Domingos Dias Machado completely relinquished his interest in the mill and farms. A half-century later the nephew Pedro was still residing on and operating the Capanema estate.[38]

In other cases families formally divided ownership and management of an inherited mill and farm complex while agreeing to keep the original estate as intact as possible through milling agreements. In the 1680's for example, Jeronimo Rodrigues Crasto, his wife, his brother, and his son-in-law Manuel Mendes Monforte signed a concerto to clarify the management of their jointly-operated sugar properties in Cotegipe. The settlement was made necessary by two family deaths. The complicated accord transferred property between concerned parties, consolidated and distributed debts, provided for the sale of one cane farm, and ratified milling obligations.[39] Arrangements of this sort probably served for one generation or so, but there was obviously a limit to how many generations of heirs one complex

could profitably sustain without expansion.

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To summarize, the great expense of installing or purchasing a sugar mill, of maintaining it yearly, and of weathering crisis years when no profits would be forthcoming made good local credit connections essential to the survival of the planter. It behooved him to affiliate himself with the city's richest institutions and to cultivate long-standing rather than impersonal relations with the region's wealthiest merchants and private citizens. This he did in order to secure emergency cash loans, to obtain reputable fiadores, and to renegotiate loans indefinitely.

At the same time, the practical demands of cultivating and manufacturing sugar encouraged the close patriarchal family ties long associated with the plantation zone. The structure of the plantation--which by definition divided ownership--and the various economic and other pressures that made ownership patterns unstable, demanded as much compensatory planning and cooperation as possible. Such planning found its formal expression in the family concertos described above.

Personal credit connections and family business and inheritance agreements were not the only means planters adopted to survive in the sugar sector. In the next section other policies adopted with the same end in mind are described: planned marriages which consolidated property and brought in new sources of capital, and

economic diversification which broadened the foundations of some family fortunes.

The financial burden of sugar production and the instability of the plantation suggest another line of analysis apart from the compensatory policies adopted by planters: What impact did economic instability have on the composition of Bahia's sugar aristocracy and on planter influence and power in the larger society? The following profile of Bahia's early eighteenth-century senhores de engenho attempts to answer this and other questions.

NOTES

1. I am using 100 milreis (or 250 cruzados) as an average price for slaves. Of course prices varied widely according to sex, age, health, and training, and they increased dramatically during the period studied (see Table 3, p. 67). In general, mill owners probably paid more for slaves than did the growers because the mill slaves were more likely to be seasoned and skilled.

2. In 1660 the juíz do povo reported that it cost about 20,000 cruzados to establish a mill. Cited in Pinheiro da Silva, "A Capitania da Baía,"p. 183. In the 1630's the Engenho Sergipe do Conde, which was worked by 80 slaves and was one of the largest, if not the largest, mills was valued at between 40,000 and 50,000 cruzados. Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, p. 213.

3. APB-SJ; Notas, Capital, Livro 6, 1688, fs. 6-8 (ratifies sale of 1684). Livro 25, 1712, fs. 208-210v. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 80-82v.

4. Many more transactions involved farms in one way or another or made reference to farm sales, but the 51 farms included in the sample are those for which the sale prices and the number of slaves were indicated. Sales usually included canefields, woodlands, pastures, carts, oxen, tools, the residence and slave quarters, and perhaps a chapel. Where slaves were included in the sale their value has been subtracted (at 250 cruzados each unless specific prices were given) in order to make the examples comparable. Many farms were underequipped in terms of oxen, carts and tools at the time of sale, but it did not seem necessary to compensate for this relatively small expense.

5. For one detailed analysis of yearly expenses see Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, pp. 213-219.

6. Available production figures are listed in Table 1, pp. 26-28. For the relatively small amount of production consumed locally see Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 274. For two characterizations of this period see Furtado, The Economic Growth of Brazil, pp. 66-71. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 64-71.

7. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1696, fs. 4v-6. Vol. 131, 1723, fs. 47-48v. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 197. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 272. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 391-392.

8. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 194. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 272-273.

9. See Table 1, pp. 26-28 for final prices. For the negotiations see: AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 120-124; 1701, fs. 187-189; 1702, fs. 258v-259. Vol. 9.25, 1703, fs. 88-88v; 1704, fs. 156v-157v; 1705, fs. 238-239v; 1708, fs. 401-402. Vol. 9.26, 1709, fs. 68-69v. Vol 9.28, 1717, fs. 32-32v. Vol. 9.29, 1718, f. 4v.; 1719, fs. 33v-34.

10. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 120-124. See also: Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, p. 225. DHBNRJ, LXXXVIII, consulta of 16 Oct. 1675, 75-78.

11. See Table 1, pp. 26-28. Wanderley Pinho reviews the crisis periods and includes excerpts from relevant documents in his História de um engenho, pp. 193 ff.

12. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 233-236.

13. For one series of renegotiated debts accompanying the purchase of property see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 22, 1707, fs. 85-93v.

14. The 300 contracts are all those I located for the period 1698 to 1715 that provided the desired and comparable information. Of course they represent only a sample of the loans transacted in this period since many agreements were never registered publicly. Debt contracts themselves offer little enlightenment about illegal interest rates, but other sources indicate that usurous rates were sometimes charged, particularly in times of stress. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 17, doc. 98, 1723. Antonil describes both legal and illegal transactions: Cultura e opulência, p. 144. For a later reference to exhorbitant interest rates see the anonymously written "Discurso preliminar" (ca. 1790) in Manuel Pinto de Aguiar, Aspectos da economia colonial (Salvador, 1957), pp. 122-123.

15. The lending functions of Santa Clara and the Santa Casa have been described in Soeiro, "A Baroque Nunnery," pp. 122 ff., and Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, passim.

16. A small number of these loans were negotiated by women. Most were easily identified as the widows of merchants or planters and their contracts were listed as such. Those not identified were included in the unidentified category.

17. The list of debtors was compared with the membership rolls of the Santa Casa, ASCMB: Têrmos dos irmãos, Livros 1 and 2, 1663-1733. Either because of a mathematical or copying error on the part of the scribe the sum of loans given in the source is 352.801$310. For the sake of internal consistency I have relied on my own addition of the

303 entries. Many of the individuals placed in the unidentified category were residents of Sergipe del Rey. It is likely that they were cattlemen and mill owners.

18. Soeiro, "A Baroque Nunnery," pp. 84-86.

19. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 106-107.

20. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18, 1701, fs. 76-78, 160-162, 213v-214v. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 28-30.

21. For example see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 21, 1704, fs. 26-27. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 53-55. IHGB-RJ: "Memória do cabedal," 1727, f. 22.

22. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.1, 1665, fs. 109-111. Vol. 126.3, 1681, fs. 8v-9; 1683, fs. 33-33v; 1689, f. 55v; 1690 fs. 63v-64; 1693, fs. 71-71v; 1702, f. 121v; 1711, fs. 189v-190. Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1718, fs. 47-48; 1723, fs. 74v-75; 1725, fs. 89v-90. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, 1709, fs. 273-273v.

23. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 136.1, 1663, fs. 68v-70v. For extensions and interpretations see the sources cited in note 22.

24. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 3, doc. 18, 1694. See also: Vol. 3, doc. 86, 1695. Vol. 9, doc. 106, 1715. DHBNRJ, XXXIII, 1691, 356-362.

25. For example see the correspondence cited in Wanderley Pinho, História de um engenho, pp. 181, 193 ff. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 390-391.

26. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 28, 1713, fs. 92-93.

27. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 26, 1712, fs. 40v-44. She kept six slaves for herself and the buyer agreed to rent or sell six other slaves so that she and her sons could manage a cane farm.

28. See together: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 11, 1697, fs. 72v-74v. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 163v-164v. Livro 14, 1698, fs. 8-10v. Livro 22, 1706, fs. 6v-7v.

29. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 234-236v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 217-218v.

30. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 133v-136, 202-204. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 217-219.

31. Monforte: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 160-162v. Livro 16, 1700, fs. 135v-137. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 165-166. Rocha Pita: Livro 12, 1698, fs. 133v-136. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 193-194v. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 10-12v. Wanderley Pinho, História de um engenho, pp. 91-95.

32. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 8, 1693, fs. 26v-30. Livro 34, 1720, fs. 138-139v. Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1705, fs. 84v-87. Livro 7, 1715, fs. 112-113v.

33. For example, the Engenho Santiago de Pernamerim was part of a morgado of fidalgo Francisco Brito Freire who resided in Portugal and left its administration in the hands of feitores and his son and heir. (This absentee ownership, as well as the entail, was unusual.) In the eighties and nineties the property was heavily indebted and suffered from poor management. DHBNRJ, XXXIII, 352; LXXXVII, 195-198; LXVII, 330-332.

34. Candido Mendes (ed.), Código Philippino ou Ordenações e Leis do Reino de Portugal (Rio de Janeiro, 1870), pp. 832-983. Títulos XLVI-XCVII treat inheritance.

35. José Wanderley Pinho, "Uma partilha de bens no Recôncavo da Bahia em 1779 com informações de caráter económico, social e industrial," in Anais do Congresso Comemorativo do Bicentenario da Transferência da Sede do Governo do Brasil, I (1963), 315-367.

36. APB-SJ: Testamento e inventario de 1741 (1741-1746), João Lopes Fiuza, no. 4.623.

37. See for example: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 233-236.

38. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 178-181. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, V, 411.

39. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 6, 1688, fs. 136-138.

CHAPTER IV

BAHIA'S SENHORES DE ENGENHO: A SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL PROFILE

Origins and Formation

We can draw some conclusions about the formation of the planter elite of senhores de engenho by examining the place of origin, family background, and marriage patterns of eighty mill owners. These individuals operated at least ninety mills in the first years of eighteenth century at a time when the Recôncavo supported about 130 engenhos. The data presented in Tables 7-12 below offer some measure of the continuity of established sugar families and the entry of newcomers. The same material suggests the levels of society whence new senhores de engenho were most likely to proceed and shows the close relationship between marriage and access to and continuity in the sugar elite.[1]

A century and a half after the formal founding of the city of Salvador and the beginning of serious colonization, Bahia's planter elite comprised a diverse group that included immigrants and the sons of immigrants as well as members of the captaincy's oldest families. (See Table 7.) Fifty-six men or 70% of the sample of eighty mill owners were Brazilian-born, but twenty-two of these were the sons of immigrants who had arrived in the seventeenth century. Nearly one-third

TABLE 7

ORIGINS OF EIGHTY SENHORES DE ENGENHO

Native Brazilians	56	70%
Sons of Brazilian fathers	34	
Sons of immigrant fathers	22	
Immigrants	24	30%
Total	80	100%

Sources: Biographical files (see note 1)

of the sample members were themselves immigrants, and their considerable presence in this class, along with that of the sons of immigrants, is good evidence of the change and flux that characterized mill ownership. Far from comprising a self-perpetuating landed aristocracy the sugar elite was accessible to a significant number of ambitious newcomers and their sons.

Not surprisingly, all eighty individuals included in the sample (and all senhores de engenho identified for the period 1680-1725) were white men of predominantly Portuguese heritage, whose families had come originally from Portugal and the Atlantic islands. There were no foreign senhores de engenho in Bahia at this time, and while free blacks and pardos achieved some small success in other branches of the economy, they found the highest level of the sugar

sector to be out of reach.

At the core of the sugar elite were thirty-four third, fourth, and fifth-generation Brazilians who boasted names like Araújo Aragão, Monis Barretto, Argola, and Dias de Ávila, and who, in some cases, traced their Brazilian origins from around the founding of the city of Salvador in 1549. The great-grandfathers or great-great grandfathers of senhores de engenho Gaspar Perieira de Albuquerque, Paulo Argola, Garcia de Ávila Periera, and Antônio Ferreira de Sousa of the Monis Barretto family had all arrived in Bahia in the mid-sixteenth century, while mill owners Cristóvão Cavalcante Albuquerque, his son Bernardino, and Cosme Rolim de Moura descended from illustrious early settlers of Pernambuco.[2] In all cases, both parents of the members of this group were native Brazilians, and most were heavily interrelated by marriage. For example, ten persons of the thirty-four either descended directly from or had married the direct descendants of one early seventeenth-century mill owner named Baltesar de Aragão who, through his wife, was linked to Bahia's pre-1549 founder Caramurú.[3]

These senhores de engenho became identified with the sugar sector by family tradition. As the figures in Table 8 show, fully 91% were the sons of mill owners or cane growers. At least eight of these men came from families that not only operated sugar mills but also possessed vast tracts of land on the outer rim of the Recôncavo and in the interior of Brazil where they engaged in large-scale cattle

raising. These families accumulated land grants (sesmarias) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both because they had the status and good connections of early arrivals and because they performed noteworthy military and financial services in the Indian wars, in the exploration of the interior, and in the prolonged struggle against the Dutch.[4] Land barons and cattlemen of this type were far more likely to become sugar producers than the smaller or average criadores (cattlemen) who owned or leased one or two ranches in the interior, or who kept a small herd in conjunction with tobacco growing.

TABLE 8

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF SONS OF BRAZILIANS:
PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF FATHER
(n=34)

Mill owner	19	91%
Cane grower	12	
Cattleman	1	
Undetermined	2	

Sources: See the source note for Table 7.

Another twenty-two members of the sample group of eighty senhores de engenho were also Brazilian-born, but their fathers had emigrated from Portugal and the Atlantic islands in the seventeenth century. They (the fathers) had come to Brazil as merchants or adventurers who fought in the Dutch wars, and they had settled in Bahia permanently, marrying Brazilian women. Moreover, as can be seen in

TABLE 9

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF SONS OF IMMIGRANTS:
PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF FATHER
(n=22)

Mill owner and merchant	6	64%
Mill owner	3	
Cane grower	5	
Merchant	3	
Cattleman	2	
Notary	1	
Undetermined	2	

Sources; See the source note for Table 7.

Table 9, at least fourteen of the twenty-two immigrant fathers had established themselves in the sugar sector, and nine of these had obtained engenhos in their lifetimes. Many immigrants became or remained poor in Brazil and the success achieved by these twenty-two fathers in one generation varied. But some fathers had made enough progress to assure their sons, the men of interest to us, positions as men of property.

As Table 9 shows, the mill-owning fathers sometimes combined sugar manufacturing with mercantile careers. While the first generation merchant-planter often continued to engage in commerce as a principal occupation, the son as a rule did not. Instead, he took up at least part-time residence on the Recôncavo, referred to himself

consistently as senhor de engenho, and limited his commercial activities to side investments in tax-farming, shipping, and land speculation. For example, one father from my sample, Lourenço da Rocha Moutinho, was an immigrant merchant from Viana who married the daughter of a cane grower and eventually acquired a sugar mill. Up until the time of his death he regularly conducted business at his residence in the city, and called himself either homen de negocio or senhor de engenho. In contrast, his son Gabriel da Rocha Moutinho lived in Patatiba much of the time and was referred to as senhor de engenho or Tenente-Coronel, but never as businessman.[5]

The ease with which the son of a rich immigrant could become established in the sugar elite undoubtedly had as much to do with the position of his mother's family as with the financial success of his father. In this respect José Garcia de Araújo Aragão is a good example. He was the son of a particularly enterprising immigrant from São Miguel, but two of his surnames, as well as his connections with the most powerful families on the Recôncavo, came from his mother. The same obtained for António Cavalcante e Albuquerque, whose merchant father emigrated from Madeira but whose mother belong to the Bahian branch of the old and respected Cavalcante e Albuquerque family.[6]

In their maturity the senhores de engenho who were sons of immigrants possessed a position in society that was virtually indistinguishable from that of their counterparts in the first group examined. Mill-owning sons of immigrants included such well-known

historical figures as the northern bandeirante (or sertanejo) Pedro Barbosa Leal, the historian Sebastião da Rocha Pita, and Bahia's native-born high court judge, Cristóvão de Burgos.[7] Furthermore, as we will see at another point, both groups supplied the city and Recôncavo with a high proportion of its fidalgos, militia colonels, and important local officials.

As the figures in Table 10 make clear, the Brazilian-born senhores de engenho--including the sons of immigrants--tended to marry the daughters (and widows) of other sugar producers. Nearly three-quarters of my sample of fifty-six men did so, and thirty-one, or over half of the total, wed women from mill-owning families. This trend reflects a certain desire on the part of enterprising planters to marry their social equals or superior, but marriage also played a crucial role in estate-building.

TABLE 10

MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF BRAZILIAN-BORN SENHORES DE ENGENHO: FAMILY BACKGROUND OF WIFE BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION (n=56)

Mill owner	29	71%
Mill owner and merchant	2	
Cane grower	9	
Cattleman	2	
Professional	2	
Undetermined	12	

Sources: See the source note for Table 7.

Even the sons of mill owners relied on a combination of marriage, purchase, and inheritance in order to consolidate mill estates of their own. For example, Gaspar Pereira de Albuquerque, although the son and grandson of mill owners, started with only one cane farm; he eventually bought the Matoim engenho to which his farm was obligated, and his purchase was facilitated by his marriage to the original owner's daughter, who had inherited a share in the mill estate.[8] Gabriel da Rocha Moutinho, who, as noted above, was the son of a merchant-senhor de engenho, did not acquire his father's mill, since it passed to his sister and brother-in-law. However, he eventually took over his father-in-law's mill in Sergipe do Conde which he and his wife inherited. Later, Rocha Moutinho purchased another mill at auction.[9]

Two brothers named Domingos and Estevão Borges de Barros greatly benefitted from their marriage connections. Their father, João Borges de Macedo, had come to Brazil from Lisbon and had distinguished himself in the wars against the Dutch with both effective military service and financial contributions. Eventually he acquired land, married a Brazilian woman, and dedicated himself to cane growing. It is not clear how much or exactly what he left to his sons, but in any case Estevão married the daughter of a mill owner, acquired at least one cane farm through the dowry settlement, and eventually constructed his own mill. Domingos married the widowed daughter of another senhor de engenho, and sometime prior to 1710 the couple assumed principal ownership of the father-in-law's Engenho São Pedro.[10]

Two other brothers offer final examples of the close tie between marriage and mill ownership. Antônio Barbalho da França and Francisco Negreiros Cortereal were fifth-generation Brazilians whose relatives had long been engaged in cane growing. Both men began as growers and eventually acquired engenhos through marriage. Antônio's wife inherited a mill estate from a childless uncle, and Francisco became part owner of a Jaguaripe mill when he married the widow of a senhor de engenho. In time he purchased the rest of the mill estate from his wife's co-heir.[11] Both Francisco and Antônio clearly exemplify movement from the category of cane grower to senhor de engenho, but marriage had much to do with the transition. Equally important, advantageous marriages were possible because the suitors had some property and excellent social credentials to begin with.

A third group of men who owned sugar mills around the turn of the century were newcomers to Bahia who had arrived from Portugal and the Atlantic islands in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Of the twenty-four persons in this category, thirteen men, or more than half of the total, began their Bahian careers as merchants and shipmasters with interests in the import-export trade. Five immigrants were professionals, including two high court judges, two lawyers educated at Coimbra, and one career military officer. The remaining six individuals first appeared in local records as sugar producers, and at least one of them had prior connections in the plantation zone which facilitated his rapid establishment.[12] How-

ever, some of these men may also have initiated their Bahian careers as merchants.

TABLE 11

BACKGROUND OF IMMIGRANT SENHORES DE ENGENHO
(n=24)

Merchant and/or shipmaster	13
High court judge	2
Lawyer	2
Military officer	1
First appears as sugar producer	6

Sources: See the source note for Table 7.

Like the generation of immigrant senhores who preceded them, these immigrants frequently pursued their original professions after acquiring sugar mills. Thus mill owner and businessman Manuel Mendes Monforte divided his time between his agricultural and his extensive mercantile interests and was alternately referred to as senhor de engenho and homen de negocio. Merchant-planters Custódio Barbosa Amorim and Manuel Ramos Aires operated mills and did business at the same time, while Dr. Martinho Barbosa de Araujo continued to practice law regularly after acquiring two sugar mills.[13]

While the native-born senhores de engenho were closely connected to one another by multiple bonds of marriage and descendance

(at least through one side of the family), the immigrants quite naturally were less integrated into the group as a whole. The marriage patterns displayed by the newcomers were somewhat diversified and suggest that perhaps half of the immigrant mill owners did not immediately form alliances with the established sugar producers. The businessman and mill owner José Alvares Viana, for example, married the daughter of another rich immigrant merchant residing in Salvador, and Sebastião Alvares de Carvalho wed the daughter of a notary too poor to provide a dowry.[14] (Such men were likely to purchase their mills outright with capital accumulated in commerce, rather than relying on a combination of marriage, inheritance, and purchase.) Even so it is striking that twelve of the twenty-four immigrants in the sample found it possible to marry directly into sugar families. Felix Bittencourt e Sá, from a noble family of Madeira, married into the powerful Aragão family, while homem de negocio João Lopes Fiuza married a member of the old, ennobled Monis Barretto family. Not surprisingly, the richest merchants, high court judges, and nobles were the most likely of immigrants to contract such unions.[15]

Taken together, the marriage patterns of native-born and immigrant senhores de engenho demonstrate that while the sugar elite intermarried to a high degree, it was not entirely closed. Periodically established families (such as the Aragão clan, the Araújo Góes, Argola, and Monis Barretto families) admitted new blood and, most obviously

TABLE 12

MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF IMMIGRANT SENHORES DE ENGENHO:
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF WIFE BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
(n=24)

Mill owner	6	50%
Cane grower	6	
Merchant	4	
Professional	2	
Wife brought from Portugal	1	
Undetermined	5	

Sources: See the source note for Table 7.

in the case of merchant sons-in-law, much needed capital. In most cases the financial advantages of such unions can only be ascertained indirectly, but one extant dowry settlement offers a precise figure. In 1698 Manuel de Brito Lobo received a substantial dowry of 30,000 cruzados, partly paid in gold, silver, and slaves when he married the daughter of a prosperous immigrant businessman named Cristóvão Barbosa Vilas Boas. Brito Lobo's Bahian father had been a cane grower, a respected alderman, and a member of the Order of Christ, and his brother Bento was a senhor de engenho. Manuel himself, or a son of the same name, eventually acquired an engenho in Sergipe do Conde.[16]

The formation of the sugar elite of senhores de engenho was clearly an ongoing process in which a nucleus of old families regularly absorbed and were joined by men who acquired mills for the first time. Judicious marriages provided one important avenue to

ownership and, like the planned inheritances and family contracts discussed in the previous chapter, they offered one means for consolidating sugar properties and reconstituting estates. While the sugar elite was not a closed group, it admitted new senhores de engenho on a fairly selective basis. The persons most likely to move into the category of senhor de engenho were cane growers and immigrant merchants. The evidence available suggests that among cane growers, those most likely to acquire and successfully maintain mills did so by consolidating sugar properties through marriage. Many growers undoubtedly aspired to mill ownership but found that the financial commitment necessary was prohibitive. In the late seventeenth century Antonil complained particularly about the over-ambitious lavradores who rather precipitously built small mills (engenhocas) as soon as they had some number of slaves and found someone to loan them money. Such men, he observed, had neither the capital resources nor the authority and expertise for such an undertaking. The inevitable result was increased indebtedness and, after several harvests, complete failure.[17]

Because of the large capital investment required to purchase (or build) and operate a mill, the city's mercantile community was a logical source of new senhores de engenho. Those men from the commercial sector who obtained engenhos were large businessmen (homens de negocio) who loaned money, accumulated capital in the import-export trade, and maintained a variety of interests, rather than shopkeepers and small merchants with specialized and local concerns.

Not all merchants who came to own mills through purchase or foreclosure kept them for very long. But those immigrant merchants who invested their commercial profits in engenho estates, who married Brazilian women, and who gradually shifted family interests away from commerce to other activities, contributed signficantly to the formation of Bahia's planter elite.

One aspect of mill ownership which deserves some attention concerns the role of women owners, the senhoras de engenho. Ownership itself is not an issue; we have already seen how the division of estates and communal property rights (carta de metade) gave wives and daughters of mill owners a share in property-holding.[18] Rather the question is whether women actually operated and administered engenhos over reasonably long periods of time. Gilberto Freyre expressed great admiration (supported by sparse evidence) for the senhoras de engenho who, in his eyes, showed great capacity and energy in administering enormous estates. Such women, he acknowledged, were exceptions in a patriarchal system which subjected women to the will of fathers and husbands and which sought to make women as different as possible from men.[19]

Information concerning the disposition of fifteen mills which were owned principally by women at one time or another in the period 1680 to 1725 suggests that the usual role of senhoras de engenho was of a passive, interim nature. Although numerous examples can be found to show how males acquired mills and gradually built

up estates over a period of years, similar material is noticeably absent for females. When a woman took over a mill whe did so invariably as an heiress--as the widow or daughter of a senhor de engenho. She generally remained primary owner for only a transitional period during which time she transferred the power to make negotiations necessary for the functioning of the estate to a male procurador who was often a son or brother. Almost always remarriage, sale, or perhaps rental eventually transferred the ownership or management of the estate to a male on a permanent basis. For example, when Colonel Pedro Camello Pereira de Aragão was murdered in 1687, his widow Dona Ana inherited the large Engenho da Ponta. By 1690 she had remarried, to another senhor de engenho named Colonel Antônio Guedes de Paiva who thereafter transacted business for the mill. In 1704 Paiva made out his will, naming as executors his wife and her brother, the ubiquitous Colonel Manuel Araújo de Aragão. In January of 1706 the failing Paiva and his wife Ana sold the Engenho da Ponta and its six milling obligations to Aragão. A month later Paiva was dead and Dona Ana immediately transferred full legal and economic powers to manage her affairs to her brother, a nephew, and her deceased husband's city accountant.[20]

Other engenho heiresses also remarried soon after their husbands' deaths. When the merchant and senhor of the Engenho São Paulo died, his widow Dona Ana Cavalcante e Albuquerque married Pedro Fernandes de Aranha. The widows of Pedro Paes Machado of the Engenho Capanema and Custódio Barbosa Amorim of the Engenho São Joao of Patatiba

likewise wed again. In each case the new husband appeared thereafter as the senhor of the mill involved and transacted business in both his own and his wife's name as was customary.[21] Occasionally the reasons for transferring the administration of ownership of an estate were made quite explicit. After the death of her husband, Dona Maria Telles sold the land the couple had been developing along with a half-constructed sugar mill. She explained that she could not finish the project because she had many obligations and because she was a woman ("por ser mulher"). When João Pereira do Lago left his wife and minor children two mill estates, the widowed Dona Antónia petitioned local officials to rent or sell most of her property because she was female and could neither properly administer her holdings nor keep accounts.[22]

There were undoubtedly exceptions to the patterns described above, but practical considerations as well as family and social pressures discouraged the development of independent women owners and administrators. The lack of technical preparation and the normal forms of social intercourse made it difficult for women to assume the title of senhor de engenho in its broadest meaning. A certain amount of expertise and experience was needed to administer an estate. While sons acquired a practical education by owning and managing farms and occasionally administering their parents' mills, daughters did not. At the same time, a man established his authority and promoted interests essential to the operation of his estate through forms of social contact which were prohibited to women. He performed

militia duties in his district, served on the city council, met with Salvador merchants, and curried the favor of the governor and other officials. If women really had the choice of independently running and building an estate, it is not surprising that when confronted with their own technical and social limitations, they shunned the responsibility.

Economic Diversification and Residence Patterns

In the process of establishing himself in the sugar sector or in securing and consolidating the gains made by his parents and grandparents, the senhor de engenho could ill afford the role of a fundamentally rural, sedentary lord who reigned on his estate and concentrated his energies in a single economic pursuit. If this description ever applied, it is the image of a later historical period or that of a senhor in his declining years, when affairs had been turned over to the next generation. The reconstruction of the lives and careers of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century mill owners yields striking patterns in this respect: The typical Bahian senhor de engenho possessed diversified economic concerns and, in most cases, divided his time between the city of Salvador and the Recôncavo.

At least three-quarters of the senhores de engenho in the sample of eighty, as well as numerous mill owners not included in the core group, invested in something besides cane growing and sugar manufacturing. Two broad factors made diversification inevitable

and desirable. First, the very wealth of the established mill owner made it likely that his interests would be widespread. The policy of land distribution that prevailed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries placed the large holdings on the margins of the Recôncavo and in the interior of the country in the hands of the same families who manufactured sugar. Apart from pure favoritism on the part of the governors who issued sesmarias, land was granted as an incentive or reward for development at private expense; the individuals with capital to open new areas in the interior were often the same persons with capital to finance mills. Diversification of interests also occurred among those men who were attempting to move into the mill-owning elite. As we have seen, at any given point, the senhores de engenho as a group included a significant number of newcomers who engaged in commerce at the same time they operated engenhos.

In addition, economic diversification provided a desirable hedge against the instabilities of the sugar market. Particularly after the opening of the mines in the interior of Brazil at the turn of the century, the markets for tobacco, slaves, and livestock expanded, and this fact was not lost on many senhores who consequently purchased slaving vessels, tobacco farms, and cattle ranches. Investments of this kind offered both alternative sources of income and a competitive advantage among sugar producers in general. For example, by trading tobacco directly for slaves on the coast of Africa, planters avoided the inflated prices on the open market and assured themselves of needed labor replacements in those years when the demand

elsewhere in Brazil caused slave shortages in Bahia. To one degree or another the members of the sugar elite took advantage of most of the economic opportunities available in Bahia: land speculation, cattle raising, tobacco growing, shipowning, commerce, urban real estate, and tax farming. In addition, a few senhores and their families benefitted from the incomes provided by professional services and proprietary offices.

The principal landowners--the recipients of sesmarias and their descendants--cattlemen, and sugar manufacturers were, for the most part, the same people. A royal communication of 1665 listed the largest landholders in the interior of Bahia and adjacent areas as: the Dias de Ávila family, António Guedes de Brito, João Peixoto Viegas, Bernardo Vieira, and Nicolao Aranha Pacheco. In 1726 a similar document again named the Dias de Ávila and Guedes de Brito families, as well as Pedro Barbosa Leal, António da Rocha Pita, and the heirs of Domingos Affonso Sertão. All but two of these families and individuals owned sugar engenhos on the Bahian Recôncavo.[23] Other families could easily have been cited by officials but it is perhaps sufficient to add that the mill-owning Aragão, Garcia Pimentel, and Silva Pimentel families all received substantial sesmarias along the Paraguaçu river west of the Recôncavo in the sixteen-eighties and nineties.[24]

Portions of these vast holdings, which measured tens and even hundreds of leagues (one league=6600 m.), remained undeveloped for a long time. Nevertheless, the most accessible areas along water-

ways became profitable grazing lands where cattle were raised to supply coastal and mining markets with beef, draft animals, and hides. The Garcia Pimentel family, for example, leased innumerable parcels of their land along the Itapicurú river in northern Bahia to tenants. These small cattlemen established their own corrals and paid an annual quitrent of 12 milreis. In 1709 senhor de engenho Manuel Garcia Pimentel awarded his legitimized daughter and her prospective husband 50,000 cruzados worth of grazing lands as half a dowry settlement. After Pimentel's death, his heirs began selling off parcels of this developed land to tenants and speculators at something under 1000 cruzados per ranch (sitio or fazenda). One sale of twelve sitios to one person brought the tidy sum of 10,050 cruzados.[25]

Other senhores de engenho whose over-all holdings were less spectacular might operate several cattle fazendas on their own or rented lands. Dr. Manuel Matos Viveiros, for example, raised cattle on at least four fazendas established on land rented from the Silva Pimentels. And when Antonio Guedes de Paiva died, he left his heirs five cattle ranches in Itapicurú.[26]

Of all senhores de engenho, the immigrant merchants among them naturally invested most heavily in the export-import trade, in ships, tax farming, and urban real estate. Nonetheless, other mill owners who had never really been businessmen made occasional investments in such ventures. For example, Raphael Soares da França, Francisco Brito de Sampaio, and Antônio da Rocha Pita each owned a share of at least one ship. Others joined merchants in purchasing shares

of tax contracts worth thousands of cruzados. Pedro Garcia Pimentel successfully bid 110,000 cruzados to farm the dízimo (royal tenth) contract of 1705, and João Pereira do Lago purchased a 3/8 interest in the same contract in 1712. Some senhores de engenho such as Felix Bittencourt e Sá and José Garcia de Araújo invested in urban shops and houses (moradas de casas); Araújo purchased and built nineteen houses in the city which he sold in 1697 for a total of 18,000 cruzados.[27]

The residence patterns of the sugar elite reflected their diversified economic interests. Most senhores de engenho were considered to be moradores, or residents, of the parishes in which their sugar estates were located, but they occasionally journeyed to the interior and they traveled to the city of Salvador regularly. Actually the Recôncavo, as has been noted, was not remote. It began where the city left off, encircled the bay, and was crossed by a good system of navigable waterways. Some senhores de engenho did reside in the city moreorless on a permanent basis. These men tended to be the immigrant merchant-planters (some of whom would eventually move to the Recôncavo), senhores with offices and professions that required extended stays in the city, and a few persons who simply preferred to live in Salvador and could afford to do so. In the first years of the eighteenth century a stroll along the Rua debaixo de São Bento in the upper city took one past the two and three-story whitewashed stone residences of Bahia's most prominent citizens. Many of the sobrados in this prestigious neighborhood belonged to the sugar elite: António

Paes de Aragão and Pedro Fernandes de Aranha and their families occupied townhouses when they made regular, seasonal trips to the city. And here senhores de engenho like Colonel Sebastião da Rocha Pita and Dr. Martinho Barbosa de Araújo lived during most of the year.[28]

Although the residence patterns of mill owners varied, the important point is that the senhor de engenho characteristically maintained close ties with the city. An occasional year's service on the municipal council made it necessary to spend a good deal of time in Salvador, while regular trips to meet with merchants and crown officials, to look after varied economic interests, to obtain credit, and to lobby for personal and group interests were essential.

Two Case Studies

To illustrate the diversity that characterized the careers of many senhores de engenho and to suggest the various ways in which both Brazilian-born and immigrant mill owners secured their positions in Bahian society, we can examine the life histories of Pedro Barbosa Leal and João Lopes Fiuza. These case studies concern two of the most successful and enterprising men in the early eighteenth century. Nevertheless, their careers suggest patterns and characteristics that applied to one degree or another to less distinguished senhores de engenho.

The first Pedro Barbosa Leal was an Indian fighter and early settler in the tobacco and cattle-raising Varzea region in the district of Cachoeira. His grandfather had spent some time in Cachoeira

in the early seventeenth century, but both his parents were natives of Viana in northern Portugal. It is not certain whether Pedro was actually born in Brazil or had emigrated from Viana with his parents as a young man, but it is clear that his family had had some prior contact with the Bahian Recôncavo.[29] In any case, the first Pedro Barbosa Leal, who was militia captain of the Varzea in 1670, emerges from the records primarily as one of a group of adventurers who pacified Indians and opened the interior of Cachoeira for permanent settlement in the last half of the seventeenth century.

Like many of his contemporaries, Leal settled in the region permanently, acquired land, and raised tobacco and cattle. He married twice. The identity of his first wife, the mother of the second Pedro Barbosa Leal is unclear, but his second wife was Dona Antônia de Vasconcellos, daughter of a mill-owning family in Cotegipe. This second marriage produced two more sons.[30] Prior to his death in 1684, Captain Pedro Barbosa Leal accumulated a modest fortune from his Cachoeira holdings and from his marriage connections, and he attained a position of some standing in the community. In 1682 he served as procurador for the municipal council of Salvador, and that same year he was admitted to the Santa Casa as a brother of high (maior) standing. He was asked to serve as treasurer of that body, a position generally reserved for men of some wealth. He accepted the responsibility and later left the Santa Casa a legacy of 7000 cruzados for the saying of masses. Before he died the crown awarded him knighthood in the Order of Santiago in recognition for the military services performed in

Cachoeira.[31]

Shortly after the death of his father in 1684, the second Pedro Barbosa Leal began appearing in Bahian records of all sorts, shaping a career that was one of the most remarkable in the period covered by this study. In a sense his career began where his father's left off. He inherited property in Cachoeira which he held for decades, and he benefitted considerably from his father's military record. But he went on to pursue wide-ranging business interests and to attain the very highest social and political honors obtainable.

In the 1680's Pedro Barbosa Leal focused his attention on establishing himself as a senhor de engenho. He had married Dona Mariana de Espinosa, whose mother was from the cane-growing Aranha family and whose father was the merchant Lourenço da Rocha Moutinho. Together Pedro and his father-in-law Moutinho built up considerable sugar holdings along the Tararipe river in the newly-opened backlands of Santo Amaro. Pedro either constructed or purchased the Engenho São Pedro, which he held up to or close to the time of his death, while Moutinho acquired the Engenho Itapemirim. Eventually this second mill was inherited by Pedro and Dona Mariana. The fact that the two men were able to develop important sugar properties in the difficult eighties probably had something to do with Pedro's inheritance, the mercantile earnings of Moutinho, and the great ambition of both men. In 1688, for example, the governor summoned them to the city to answer charges of "excess and extortion" in their dealings with seven or eight neighboring cane growers.[32]

Once his sugar interests were secure, Pedro Barbosa Leal turned to other concerns. He very rapidly established his credentials as a member of Bahia's socio-political elite, a process that was greatly facilitated by his father's status as a military hero. In 1690 he requested and received a patent as captain in the militia. The award was granted because of the many services performed by his father and Pedro's own financial contributions from his mill and farms. A few months later Pedro enhanced his status as a large landowner when he recieved a sesmaria concession of four square leagues of land in Sergipe del Rey, to the north of Bahia. That same year, in 1691, he was admitted to membership in the Santa Casa as a brother of high standing. Finally, in 1694 a typically hasty promotion to the post of militia colonel, based on the same merits that had won him the patent as captain, marked his entry into the very cream of Bahian society.[33]

Although many of his contemporaries might have been satisfied at this point with a mill estate, a sesmaria, and high social status, Pedro Barbosa Leal was only beginning a career founded not only on a desire for personal and family recognition but on outstanding public service and good business sense as well. It was probably about this time in the mid-nineties that he began investing in the development of the interior, particularly in Piauí along the Parnaíba river. At his own expense he initiated settlement and established cattle fazendas in the most viable areas of this remote region. He received an enormous sesmaria of twenty leagues of land and, in 1703, he requested another fifty leagues of land and formally asked for senhorío of the

region and the right to establish his own captaincy. In response to a royal query about this petition, the Bahian governor verified Pedro's considerable investment in the region and commented that further development would likely prove profitable to Leal as well as to the royal treasury.[34]

In 1697 he participated in another project in the interior when he was appointed general administrator of the nitrate mines being developed jointly by the Dias de Ávila family and the crown. Unfortunately this potentially useful and lucrative venture fizzled out, but Pedro's diligence and personal financial sacrifice won the praise and attention of royal officials. It was undoubtedly for his efforts to open up new areas of the interior for settlement and his services as administrator of the nitrate mines that the crown awarded him noble status as a fidalgo and knighthood in the Order of Christ. From the early eighteenth century on, these titles appear consistently with his name in local records of all kinds.[35]

In this very active period of his life Pedro Barbosa Leal divided his time between his sugar estate in Tararipe, his various projects in the interior, and the city of Salvador. He returned from Piauí in 1696 to serve a term on the city council, and he occupied his residence near the Jesuit College in Salvador most of the time between 1701 and 1704 while he performed numerous civic duties. He represented the sugar sector in price negotiations in 1700 and served again on the city council in 1701 and 1704. He even found time to preside over the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in 1703 and 1704, and he

is remembered as a particularly dynamic Provedor of that organization.[36]

Although he was never considered to be a businessman by profession, Barbosa Leal, like many enterprising Bahians who could do so, had commercial interests on the side. In 1709 for example, he purchased a share in the wine contract, and in the first two decades of the eighteenth century he actively engaged in the lucrative slave and tobacco trading cycle between Bahia and the African west coast. He purchased and constructed several small sailing vessels called patachos and sumacas for this enterprise, two of which were eventually sequestered by French corsairs off the African coast. Despite the high risks involved, the slave trade was a compelling venture in the early eighteenth century, when the opening of the gold mines created a seemingly insatiable demand for slaves at top prices. Slavers in that period wrote that there was simply no better business to invest in. The trade was particularly advantageous to Pedro Barbosa Leal, who produced his own tobacco--the major item exchanged for slaves--and who assured himself a steady supply of labor for his varied agricultural and pastoral establishments. In 1713 for example, his patacho "Nossa Senhora do Carmo e Santo Antônio" was licensed expressly to trade tobacco for slaves to supply his engenhos and his tobacco and cattle fazendas.[37]

During the last twenty years of his life Leal continued his peripatetic existence and added to his already lengthy record of service to the community and the crown. In 1718 he appeared briefly

in the city in his role as "práctico do sertão" to advise officials about the opening of new cattle trails between Bahia and northern Brazil. In 1721 he again represented the sugar sector at price negotiations with merchants, and that same year he and his wife Dona Mariana Espinosa formally donated a portion of their holdings in Sergipe del Rey to the Carmelite brothers. Furthermore, he spent a good part of the 1720's in the Jacobina region in the interior of the captaincy of Bahia acting in an official capacity. He reported on mining possibilities, founded the vila of Jacobina, and performed other administrative tasks.[38]

By 1726 Pedro had returned to his Engenho São Pedro in Santo Amaro, and we may speculate that he spent the years until his death in retirement on his sugar estate. Unlike other successful men of his time, Pedro Barbosa Leal did not found a dynasty. According to his only surviving daughter, Dona Ursula Luísa de Monserrate, she was the tenth child born to Pedro and Dona Mariana but the only one to survive childhood. She wrote that her father had attempted to arrange a suitable marriage for her on several occasions, but each time "unknown and supernatural" forces broke the contract. The Virgin, she believed, had interceded to protect her from "tantos lobos" (so many wolves) and save her for a special mission. Dona Ursula took the veil and in 1735 she used the fortune left to her by her father to found the Ursuline convent in Bahia.[39]

Like Pedro Barbosa Leal, the native Brazilian senhores de engenho generally became men of property by birth, and enhanced and

consolidated this position by diversifying their economic interests, marrying selectively, and by maintaining close ties with the city. Not surprisingly such figures found it relatively easy to take their places among Bahia's social and governing elite, and they did so as young men. The careers of the immigrant senhores de engenho followed a different course. The immigrants most often began their Bahian careers in commerce before investing in land and agriculture and, as newcomers, they established their social credentials more gradually than the Bahian-born mill owners. Even so, in some cases their integration into the highest level of Bahian society was accomplished in one lifetime. In another chapter we will examine Bahia's mercantile community in detail, but it is appropriate at this point to outline the career of one homen de negocio who became a senhor de engenho, João Lopes Fiuza.

A native of Viana, in northern Portugal, Fiuza arrived in Bahia in the 1690's. Like many young immigrant merchants, João Lopes Fiuza had prior connections with Salvador's energetic mercantile community. His elder brother Nicolao Lopes Fiuza had already settled permanently in Salvador, had married and had become one of the city's most prominent homens de negocio. He invested in the export-import trade, owned ships, and possessed far-flung commercial connections in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Viana, Porto, Lisbon, Angola, and the isle of São Tomé. His commercial eminence is suggested by his position as agent and supplier of the governor-general of Angola. Although Nicolao remained an homen de negocio up until the time of

his death in 1708, he made considerable progress in aligning himself with the colony's sugar and landed elite. His two marriages to members of the old, ennobled Monis Barretto family brought him the very best connections on the Recôncavo. Furthermore, although he apparently never acquired a sugar mill or a sesmaria, he purchased two enormous tracts of land in Parnaíba and Rio Grande do Norte in 1698 and 1702.[40]

His brother's success and sponsorship undoubtedly facilitated João Lopes Fiuza's rapid establishment as a prominent homen de negocio in his own right. He worked first as his brother's commercial agent and traveled between Salvador and Lisbon. By 1697, however, he listed the colonial capital as his permanent residence. In 1699 he purchased a share of the ship "Nossa Senhora da Boa Sentença," then anchored in Lisbon. Two of his business partners in this investment in the import-export trade were Manuel Mendes Monforte and Manuel Lopes Henriques, both of whom were Salvador merchants and mill owners. About the same time he began investing in the Mina Coast trade in tobacco and slaves and thereafter figured among the most important export-import merchants in Salvador with investments in all major commodities. On several occasions he represented the business community in negotiating sugar prices, and he frequently helped draft policy recommendations concerning commercial matters.[41]

When João Lopes Fiuza was finally ready to marry, some fifteen years or so after he arrived in Bahia, he again made use of his elder brother's early connections. In 1709 he wed his sister-in-law Dona Eugenia Teresa de Meneses, the daughter of senhor de engenho

Jeronimo Monis Barretto. The union represented an important social promotion for the ambitious merchant from Viana and ushered him into the very heart of the sugar aristocracy. The Monis Barrettos were one of the oldest sugar-producing families on the Recôncavo. Dona Eugenia's great-great grandfather and fidalgo Egas Monis Barretto had migrated from Ilha Terçeira around the time of the founding of the city of Salvador in 1549, and his numerous descendants owned several mills in the early eighteenth century.[42]

From a practical standpoint, the marriage permitted João to acquired his father-in-law's Engenho de Baixo de Pernamerim, probably through a combination of purchase and a dowry or inheritance settlement. The Fiuzas also took over the Engenho São Pedro de Tararipe and, unless there were two mills of the same name, I suspect they purchased this mill from the Barbosa Leals in the 1730's. Prior to 1718 Fiuza had developed some cattle interests in the interior as well, and eventually purchased several woodland tracts and various cattle, tobacco, and manioc properties in Cachoeira.[43]

Like other men of his generation, João Lopes Fiuza sought titles and honors that would ocnfirm his high social standing in the community. When his brother Nicolao, a captain in the urban militia, died in 1708, Joao was immediately named to fill the vacated militia post. However, despite his good marriage connection, this was the only concrete social recognition awarded him for some years. The delay may have had something to do with his status as an immigrant and merchant, but it is more likely that it reflected his unfavorable

notoriety in the years 1711-1712. In the last months of 1711, he participated in two urban demonstrations; one was motivated by a series of economic grievances and ended in mob violence, and the other concerned a movement to help expel the French from Rio de Janeiro. His precise role is not clear, but while he was eventually commended for his offer to aid Rio, he was also accused of inciting the violence of the first demonstration. Local councilmen, royal officials, and other prominent Bahian citizens were very anxious to dissociate themselves from the events of 1711 and they were probably hesitant to admit Fiuza to their ranks. The controversial merchant's public image was not much improved in 1712 when he was singled out in a public complaint for illegally raising carrying rates for tobacco and slaves.[44]

In any case, it was not until 1723 that João received his promotion to Sargento-mor in the militia. That same year he served a term on the city council as procurador and finally, in 1731, he was selected for the more prestigious office of vereador, or councilman. Sometime after, the crown made him a member of the Order of Christ and in his will Fiuza indicated his membership in the Third Order of São Francisco and the Third Order of Carmo.[45]

Although João Lopes Fiuza probably maintained his commercial contacts throughout his life--the landed merchants often did--they became less obvious during the 1720's. By the time of his death in 1741, he was firmly established as a senhor de engenho and a member of Bahia's social and governing elite. As we have noted in the preceding chapter, he left his heirs a considerable and diversified estate. In typical

fashion he used part of his fortune to institute a perpetual capela de misas in his memory in the chapel located on one of his sugar mills. His youngest son became a Jesuit priest and his other two children and their spouses owned three mills on the Recôncavo in 1755. The family remained prominent throughout the remainder of the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth centuries, when Fiuza's grandson played a notable part in the Bahian independence movement.[46]

Status and Power

Possession of an engenho automatically conferred a certain position in Bahian society because of the associations of wealth and authority evoked by the mill itself. The high status accompanying mill ownership was underlined by Antonil who, in a frequently cited observation, compared the designation "senhor de engenho" to a Portuguese title of nobility.[47] Even so, the senhores de engenho sought confirmation of status and power apart from mill ownership and they wanted acknowledgement in very concrete terms. Accordingly they petitioned the governor and the crown for minor titles of nobility and knighthood, for militia posts, for the proprietorship of bureaucratic offices, and for seignorial rights over land in the interior. The importance attached to these trophies--avidly pursued and then consistently attached to names as small vitas--reflected the values of the status-conscious Portuguese world. This desire for clearly defined social recognition, if anything, becamed accentuated in a society that was relatively new and based on an essentially unstable economy.

At the same time, however, the real, potential, and cumulative advantages accruing from prestigious titles and offices were such that it is nearly impossible to separate the desire for status from more mundane political and economic ambitions. Honors acquired by one generation constituted a patrimony for descendants since, with royal permission, some offices and titles passed directly to heirs and could be used as dowries. In any case, they provided leverage in obtaining further honors and privileges. Furthermore, the incomes and/or the advisory and law enforcement functions associated with proprietary and militia posts made them far more than mere symbols of status in a very concrete sense.

Bahians collected titles and offices by performing services for the crown, by family tradition, that is, through marriage and inheritance, and by outright purchase. Since exceptional service could involve considerable personal expenditure, the line between service and purchase was very thin. Acquiring status was a cumulative process and winning one honor made it easier to obtain another. At the same time, the transference of services and awards as dowries and inheritances tended to concentrate the symbols of status in certain families, especially those who had resided in Brazil for several generations.

A broad range of activities qualified for awards of one kind or another. The seventeenth-century struggle against the Dutch offered numerous opportunities for actual military duty or for the contribution of money and supplies. In the course of the Dutch conflict or thereafter some Bahian families received their first militia patents,

knighthood, and a very occasional foro of minor nobility (fidalguía). Other Bahians opened roads, pacified Indians, or developed new areas at their own expense, and were awarded military titles and special privileges in the process. Still other services were more banal, such as tracking down a criminal, collecting taxes, or making a ship available for official use. This routine type of service as well as financial contributions to the royal treasury predominated in the service records of the early eighteenth century, as opportunities for more dramatic service decreased.[48]

On the whole not very many Bahian residents actually held patents of nobility or knighthood in one of the military orders of Portugal, although the latter were more common than the former. The number of fidalgos and knights undoubtedly would have been much greater had the governor or viceroy been empowered to grant these titles. However, the Portuguese crown jealously guarded this prerogative. In 1715 the King justified his refusal to transfer this authority, arguing that the absence of continuous warfare made it impossible for Brazilians to truly earn nobility or knighthood.[49] As a result Bahia's fidalgos tended to be immigrants whose noble lineage had been established sometime in the past or Brazilian-born members of families who had performed particularly noteworthy services. The senhor de engenho Felix de Bittencourt e Sá, for example, had emigrated from Madeira and received his foro of fidalguía because he was of noble birth. The young Bahian Garcia de Ávila Pereira was granted both a foro of fidalguía and knighthood in the Order of Christ when his parents pledged 60,000

cruzados to develop nitrate deposits in the interior of the captaincy.[50] In contrast, the petitions of senhor de engenho Baltesar Vasconcellos e Albuquerque for similar honors were twice rejected despite the noble status of his grandparents. His own non-military services as customs secretary, his lineage, and the support of the governor simply did not impress the crown.[51]

Because distinguished immigrants such as Bittencourt e Sa frequently obtained sugar mills, and because the relatively older mill families had participated in the Dutch wars, the sugar elite of senhores de engenho boasted the highest concentration of minor nobles and knights of any socio-economic group. Even so, in my sample of eighty mill owners only sixteen men used the title of fidalgo or fidalgo-cavaleiro, and perhaps another ten had been admitted to one of the military orders but were not fidalgos. Thus most senhores de engenho were not ennobled at all and had to be content with more informal membership in the local nobreza. Judging from the use of this term in Bahia it referred to men who were propertied, Christian, judged respectable by their peers, and eligible for public office.[52]

Both the status and power of the mill-owning families were greatly enhanced by their possession of key proprietary offices in the captaincy. An exhaustive analysis of the socio-economic background of Bahia's proprietary bureaucrats has yet to be made, but there is substantial evidence of the influence exercised by sugar families in this sphere. For example, throughout much of the colonial period sugar families controlled the customs directorship (Provedor da Alfandega)

and the position of chief constable (Alcaide-mor) of the city of Salvador. The high customs office remained in the mill-owning Brito de Castro family for over a century and in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the office was held successively by senhor de engenho André Britto de Castro and his son-in-law Alesandre Sousa Freire. In 1713 the proprietorship passed to the Costa e Almeida family, newly arrived from Angola, and was held in succession by businessman and Tenente-general of Angola Rodrigo da Costa Almeida, his son Domingos da Costa Almeida, and his grandson and namesake Rodrigo. Even with this early eighteenth-century transfer the office retained its close association with the sugar elite. The Costa e Almeidas wasted no time in acquiring mills and marrying into the Rocha Pita and Cavalcante e Albuquerque engenho families.[53]

Similarly the office of Alcaide-mor remained the special preserve of sugar families. When a vacancy occurred in 1686-87, the office was awarded to senhor de engenho Francisco de Araújo Aragão on the basis of his own routine services as militia captain, the more notable services of his father and grandfather against the Dutch, and significantly, a generous donation of 15,500 cruzados to the royal treasury for the purchase of munitions. The proprietorship eventually passed to Francisco's son and in 1743 was purchased by another senhor de engenho, Salvador Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque.[54] In addition, strategic middle-level posts such as customs secretary and secretary of the Royal Treasury in Bahia were awarded to and actually exercised by senhores de engenho Baltesar Vasconcellos e Albuquerque and Fran-

cisco Dias de Amaral in this period.[55]

Along the same lines, Stuart Schwartz's excellent study of the Brazilian high court (Relação) located in Bahia reveals another facet of planter influence in official circles. While the high court judges (dezembargadores) were basically professional men of Portuguese origins who never became dominated by Bahia's local elite, the personal interests of individual magistrates frequently merged with those of key Bahian families. Prior to 1759 seventeen percent of the judges contracted local marriages and, in the period of interest here, several judges actually acquired sugar mills.[56] Dezembargador Antonio Rodrigues Banha owned the Engenho São Jesus, Maria e José in Jacaracangas, and his Bahian daughter married another dezembargador, Dionisio de Azevedo Arvellos, who purchased the large Engenho Crus de Torres in 1712.[57] Earlier the same mill had belonged to Bahia's native-born dezembargador, Cristóvão de Burgos, who long maintained interests in the sugar sector.[58] Two daughters of mill owner António da Rocha Pita wed dezembargadores, while two other high court judges of this era, Cristóvão Tavares de Morais and José de Sá Mendonça, married daughters of senhor de engenho Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque. It is known that Dezembargador Tavares de Morais received a handsome dowry of 20,000 cruzados when he married Dona Adriana Cavalcante e Albuquerque.[59]

Crucial to the power and influence of the mill owners in society as a whole was their control of the local militia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By the 1680's the city of Salvador and the Recôncavo had been organized into four militia dis-

tricts, each of which was commanded by a colonel and a sergeant-major. Each district regiment was composed of six or more companies serving various parishes and led by militia captains. In 1686-87 the regimental districts were redrawn and several new regiments or *partidos* were created; population growth prompted further reorganization in the years 1718-1720. Technically militia posts were to be awarded by the governor to those Bahians who had served in some way against the Dutch or to their descendants. However, by the end of the seventeenth century petitioners received patents for the most banal kinds of qualifications: the prompt payment of taxes, financial donations, voluntary guard duty, and so forth. Increasingly the patents reflected social qualifications rather than military prowess, and many captains received their posts solely on the basis of good family connections and the recommendation of a regimental colonel.[60]

Although promotion to the post of colonel was at once a confirmation and enhancement of high social status, the command of a regiment, if taken seriously, was far more than an honorific title. Well into the eighteenth century the powers and responsibilities of the militia colonels were wide-ranging and quite real. Particularly on the Recôncavo (and beyond) the district colonel was frequently the closest and most constant institutionalized source of authority. The colonels received their orders directly from the governor, who relied on them to enforce directives of all kinds. Furthermore, the high militia officers assumed responsibility, on a regular basis, for escorting the harvest to port, bringing criminals to justice, recruiting soldiers

for the regular garrison in the city, collecting special taxes, and patrolling the trading routes to the interior. Needless to say, the opportunities for personal aggrandizement and favoritism--in tax collection and recruitment, for example--were as great as the powers conferred.[61]

A look at the most important militia patents for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reveals a striking wedding of economic and political power in the high command. In the years between the militia reorganizations of 1687 and 1718, thirty-three men occupied the position of colonel in the urban and Recôncavo regiments. Of these, twenty-three individuals possessed sugar mills. As far as could be determined, the remaining ten did not operate their own mills, but to a man they were brothers, sons, or sons-in-laws of senhores de engenho. All but three or four of the colonels were Bahian-born and together they represented not only the major sugar producers, but the principal sesmaria-owning families as well.[62]

Throughout the period considered here the large landowners and sugar producers, particualry the mill-owning families, were well represented on the Salvador camara municipal, the principal organ of local government. For some time historians have emphasized the vigor of this Brazilian institution. While it is likely that the distance separating the more isolated Brazilian camaras of the interior from close royal scrutiny enhanced their independence, it is equally true that the personal contact with the governor enjoyed by Bahian councilmen made it easier for them to communicate their demands

and problems and win support for their point of view.[63]

The Salvador council performed the various duties of similar bodies all over the Iberian world. The camara farmed and collected local taxes, regulated the prices of commodities and services, licensed vendors and arisans, maintained the jail, and supervised public improvements. The same organization supported the city garrison for a time, arranged public festivals, and was responsible for public sanitation and the nightly policing of the urban and suburban parishes.

While these routine services were important in their own right, the most far-reaching function of the council was to provide a forum for local citizens to debate policy recommendations, air grievances, and formulate proposals to present to the governor and crown officials in Lisbon. The camara worked out the specifics of royal taxes and sponsored periodic meetings--sometimes congenial, sometimes hostile--between merchants and planters to negotiate prices and discuss other problems. In open sessions citizens debated and formulated policies covering food shortages, defense, shipping, natural disasters, and the opening of new roads to the interior. It was the city council that, through its close contact with the governor and its right to correspond directly with the crown, obtained protective legislation for sugar producers: controls on the building of inland mills, limited protection against foreclosure, and fair evaluation of payment in kind.[64]

It would be ridiculous to argue that, in a slave society, the council represented the majority of the inhabitants within its jurisdiction or that its debating and advisory functions served the interests of everyone. Nevertheless, the institution did provide a variety of free residents a means for articulating their special concerns and grievances. A good many merchants, small shopkeepers, tavernkeepers, and artisans who never held regular seats on the council still had their say at public meetings or through their formal petitions and special delegates in matters which affected them directly.[65]

Up until 1696 the regular council consisted of six voting members: two magistrates (juízes ordinario), three councilors (vereadores), and a procurador. These officials were chosen annually by indirect election and lottery from the electoral rolls of homens-bons--white, propertied, Christian householders judged eligible by their peers. In the period 1696-1704 a series of reforms altered both the structure and the jurisdiction of the Salvador council. One reform abolished the two positions of magistrate and placed the presidency of the camara and its judicial functions in the hands of a royally-appointed judge, the juíz de fora. Secondly, the final selection of the remaining councilors and procurador passed to the governor. Finally, in 1698, the governor raised the three Recôncavo settlements of Jaguaripe, Sergipe do Conde, and Cachoeira to the status of vila and gave them their own councils; in 1724-27 two more Recôncavo councils were established in the newly created vilas of Santo Amaro and

Maragogipe.[66]

The results of these reforms were mixed, but in general they altered the form of local government more than the substance. The carving out of new electoral areas from the old sprawling Salvador district and the abolition of the city's magistrates narrowed the functions of the city camara somewhat, and by the 1720's the vereadores devoted more and more of their time to specifically urban matters. Nevertheless, certain functions were not so much lost as transferred or shared with the new vila councils. The latter, who retained local magistrates at least through the first half of the eighteenth century, assumed some of the administrative and judicial reponsibilities which previously belonged to the Salvador camara. Perhaps most important, all the city and vila councils exercised debating and advisory functions. Like their prototype, the Recôncavo camaras discussed and formulated policy recommendations, communicated with the governor, and corresponded directly with the crown.[67]

Thus far, despite the acknowledged importance of the local camara in the framework of government, no one has attempted to analyze precisely the composition of that body in Salvador. C. R. Boxer's reasonable assertion that the Salvador camara membership was "drawn from sugar planters and growers of the Recôncavo and from the richer residents of the city who intermarried with them," has long served as an adequate generalization for the colonial period.[68] As a

generalization, however, it offers no assessment of changes over time; it neither weighs the importance of mercantile representation on the camara, nor does it evaluate the impact of late seventeenth-century reforms on composition.

Narrowing the focus somewhat, Russell-Wood cites a 1740 royal directive ordering that established businessmen be placed on the electoral rolls as one indication of the "coming of age" of the merchants as a class in Salvador. As part of his thesis that a major shift in power from planters to merchants occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century, he argues that traditional Bahian families tended to "opt out" of public duties such as council membership, and the slack was taken up by a newly consolidated merchant class.[69] A careful analysis of the composition of the camara assumes some importance, then, in evaluating the over-all role of planters in local government.

The figures in Table 13 present a break-down of the membership of the Salvador camara by socio-economic groups during five decades. Between 1680 and 1729, 260 officials, including replacements, were selected for office. The total number chosen during each decade declined after 1700 in large part because the two posts of magistrate had been eliminated. At times the homens bons whose names were drawn for office asked to be excused from serving because of illness or pressing personal affairs which kept them away from the city. Between 1680 and 1689, fourteen replacements had to be chosen at special elections; between 1690 and 1699, seven; between 1700 and

TABLE 13

COMPOSITION OF THE SALVADOR CITY COUNCIL, 1680-1729

	1680-1689	1690-1699	1700-1709	1710-1719	1720-1729	Total
Mill owners and/or large landowners	38 (51.4%)	35 (57.4%)	26 (60.5%)	18 (42.9%)	15 (37.5%)	132 (50.8%)
Cane growers	10 (13.5%)	9 (14.8%)	3 (7.0%)	6 (14.3%)	5 (12.5%)	33 (12.7%)
Landed merchants	11 (14.9%)	7 (11.5%)	3 (7.0%)	5 (11.9%)	9 (22.5%)	35 (13.5%)
Other merchants	2 (2.7%)	1 (1.6%)	2 (4.7%)	0 -	7 (17.5%)	12 (4.6%)
Landed professionals	3 (4.0%)	2 (3.3%)	1 (2.3%)	2 (4.8%)	0 -	8 (3.1%)
Other professionals	0 -	0 -	4 (9.3%)	3 (7.1%)	0 -	7 (2.7%)

TABLE 13--Continued.

	1680-1689	1690-1699	1700-1709	1710-1719	1720-1729	Total
Tobacco growers and cattlemen	3 (4.0%)	0 -	1 (2.3%)	3 (7.1%)	2 (5.0%)	9 (3.4%)
Unidentified	7 (9.5%)	7 (11.5%)	3 (7.0%)	5 (11.9%)	2 (5.0%)	24 (9.2%)
Total no. of officials (including replacements)	74 (100.0%)	61 (100.1%)	43 (100.1%)	42 (100.0%)	40 (100.0%)	260 (100.0%)

Source: A near-complete list of members is contained in Affonso Ruy's História da camara, pp. 347 ff. Missing years (1712-1716) were supplied from AMB: Circulares da camara, Vol. 33.1, fs. 40, 45, 51, 53. Other gaps were filled and corrections made from Atas da Camara, Vols. V and VI. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vols. 9.24-9.29. I used my biographical files to categorize each member by socio-economic background.

and 1709, three; between 1710 and 1719, two; and between 1720 and 1729, none. Reluctance to take office was rather common during the crisis-ridden sixteen-eighties, but thereafter the number of substitutions declined. Clearly the refusals to take office in this period did not indicate any trend of withdrawal from public affairs as has been claimed. In general the men named to the council served willingly.[70]

During the five decades between 1680 and 1729, 132 officials representing 50.3% of the total council membership were senhores de engenho and large landowners. The categories of large landowner (the recipient of a sesmaria) and senhor de engenho have been combined because they so often overlapped in reality. Most, although not all, of the men in this group were native-born members of established Recôncavo families rather than immigrants. If we add to this figure the thirty-three cane growers, the thirty-five landed merchants (businessmen who had acquired mills, cane farms, or sesmarias by the time they took office) and the eight landed professionals listed in the table, we find that 208 officials, or 80% of the council membership, represented sugar and large landed interests. The remaining councilmen were tobacco growers and cattlemen, as well as merchants and professionals who, insofar as could be determined, had no landed interests.

Two conclusions of a general nature emerge. Merchants obtained seats on the council long before the order to place businessmen on the electoral rolls was issued. Between 1680 and 1729, forty-

seven men of mercantile origins, representing 18.1% of the councilmen, were named officials. Furthermore, the figures support Boxer's generalization that the camara was dominated by planters and the richer residents of the city.

The break-down of membership by decades does reveal some changes in composition in the early eighteenth century, particularly during the 1720's. Progressively fewer large landowners, mill owners, and cane farmers--men who as a rule were from older established families--served on the council, and their combined proportional representation declined as well, from a high of 72.2% in the nineties to 50.0% in the seventeen-twenties. The vacuum was filled by immigrant merchants.

This trend confirms Russell-Wood's notion that merchants assumed a greater role in public affairs in the eighteenth century, but the facts do not support his thesis that this trend, in turn, signaled a fundamental change in the governing elite or a decline in the influence of sugar and landed interests in local government.

In part the changing composition of the camara reflected turn-of-the-century electoral reforms. The restricted jurisdiction of the Salvador council diminished the pool of established homens bons from which officials were traditionally drawn. At the same time, the membership began to reflect the personal preferences of the governor, who had the final say in selecting officers. The fact that it was the immigrant merchants who benefitted directly from reforms had more to do with individual socio-economic mobility associated with

the mercantile prosperity of the early eighteenth century--a phenomenon discussed in a later chapter--than with either a planter decline or the rise of a new class.

The important point to be made here is that sugar and landed interests retained their traditionally dominant role in local government. In the first place, even in the 1720's the majority of immigrant merchants seated on the council possessed land and agricultural holdings, so their concerns often coincided with those of more established members. Together, the mill owners and/or large landowners, cane growers, and landed merchants held 72.5% of the council positions in 1720-1729.

Furthermore, a good number of families who had traditionally supplied Salvador councilmen simply chose to serve on the newly-created vila camaras in the early eighteenth century. Many examples could be cited to indicate the continuity in planter and landed representation on the Salvador and vila councils. Antônio Moreira de Meneses, a Salvador juíz in 1690, became the first magistrate of the Jaguaripe council. The judge at Sergipe do Conde in 1732, Paio de Araújo de Azevedo, was the son of a seventeenth-century Salvador vereador. Antônio Guedes de Paiva, who sat on the city council in 1681 and 1687, became a Cachoeira official in 1699. Members of the large Aragão and Brandão families, who often occupied municipal posts in Salvador, focused their attention on the Cachoeira camara in the eighteenth century. Although his uncle and benefactor had been vereador in Salvador in 1687 and 1699, senhor de engenho Pedro Paes Machado de Aragão pre-

ferred to serve as juíz of the Maragogipe council in 1736. And finally, José Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque served on both the Salvador and Cachoeira councils in the eighteenth century.[71]

Thus any loss in planter representation on the Salvador council was compensated by the seating of senhores de engenho and large landowners on the vila camaras. The Recôncavo councils provided an equally viable means for promoting and protecting special interests and, because they retained the posts of magistrate, they actually conveyed broader legal powers to their officers. In a sense, the new camaras provided landowners and planters greater representation in local government, both because a larger number of offices was available and because the vila councils were geographically more accessible to many estates and did not require an expensive and demanding year's residence in Salvador.

In summary, Bahia's sugar elite of senhores de engenho was far from a closed or homogeneous socio-economic group. In the early eighteenth century it included a core of old and well-established sugar families as well as a substantial number of mill owners who were sons of immigrant merchants and Bahian mothers. In addition, nearly a third of its members were recent arrivals from Portugal and the Atlantic islands. The family backgrounds of the sons of immigrants suggest that the admission of newcomers into the sugar elite was an ongoing process; for different reasons the prosperity and expansion of the early and mid-seventeenth century and the economic disruptions of the

eighties and nineties permitted the entry of new mill owners. Men who acquired engenhos for the first time came consistently from certain levels of society. The native-born were likely to be cane growers who married well, while the immigrants were sometimes professionals and nobles, but more often successful merchants.

Characteristically the senhores de engenho married the daughters of other mill and landed families, and an impressive number of well-to-do immigrants also married directly into the established landed and sugar elite. Marriage had important economic implications for all concerned in that it permitted the consolidation of property and, in some cases, was the principal vehicle for obtaining controlling interest in a mill estate.

The most enterprising sugar families held on to their estates, despite the chronic instability of the sugar sector, by an astute management of various options: They cultivated good personal credit connections; they planned inheritances and marriages with the future of their sugar properties in mind; and they diversified their economic interests as much as possible. Regardless of his origins or his aristocratic pretensions, the typical senhor de engenho was an entrepreneur as much as anything else, and he often invested in such speculative ventures as the slave trade, tax-farming, and the opening of new territory. Although their estates were located on the Recôncavo, the planters always maintained close ties with the city of Salvador where they held bureaucratic and political posts, promoted their own interests, and where they resided part of the year

when they could afford to do so.

The senhores de engenho were a status-conscious group. They sought to possess and to be served and they claimed for themselves, through inheritance, service, or purchase, the highest symbols of distinction their society conferred. But it is impossible to separate the desire for high status from the pursuit of economic profit. The marks of prestige--a sesmaria, a blood or marriage tie to a founding family, titles and offices--contributed to and secured the planter's wealth.

In part because the planter class absorbed prosperous newcomers into its ranks, because their interests encompassed both the city and the countryside, and because they pursued a variety of economic acitvities, they were able to maintain their power and influence long after the first sugar boom had come to an end and Bahian society had enlarged and become more complex. Through the first decades of the eighteenth century at least, the engenho families retained ocntrol of the local militia and key proprietary offices, and they exercised a predominant role in local government.

NOTES

1. The eighty mill owners were selected from a larger group of individuals known to have possessed mills at some point during the years 1680-1725 according to three criteria: (1) they operated mills at approximately the same time, (2) they were relatively long-term owners and, (3) their biographical records were most complete. If several members of a family jointly owned a mill, only one name was included in the sample; selection in such cases was not too difficult because mills tended to revert to one owner or couple. If a mill changed hands within a family (i.e., from father to son) only one name was included in the sample for that mill. Examples used throughout this discussion were drawn from the larger pool of mill owners rather than just from the sample of eighty. Biographical files were compiled from many sources of which the most important were: The notarial registers: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 1-42, 1664-1725. Notas, Cachoeira, Livros 1-16, 1700-1726. These records include property histories of all kinds, investments, dowries, a few wills, family concertos, geneological data, residence patterns, and kinship and business ties. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vols. 1-32, 1648-1736. The shipping licenses, 1678-1725, preserved as Alvarás, Vols. 439-440 and Provisões, Vol. 276. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vols. 124.1-124.7, 1683-1716, and Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1717-1725. (These are the militia patents.) ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 1, 1663-1695. Livro 2, 1696-1733. Affonso Ruy, História da camara municipal da cidade do Salvador (Bahia, 1953), pp. 347-361. "Catálogo genealógico de fr. António de Santa Maria Jaboatão. Adaptado e desenvolvido por Afonso Costa," RIHGB, CXCI (1946), 1-279. The summary of sesmaria grants published in PAN, XXVII (1931), entire.

2. Pereira de Albuquerque: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 233-236. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 87-88. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 65-69. Argola: APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1696, f. 22. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 44-45. Wanderley Pinho, "Uma partilha de bens no Recôncavo," pp. 315-367. Ávila Pereira: Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 269. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1675, fs. 365-366. Pedro Calmon, História da Casa da Torre. Uma dinastía de pioneiros (2nd ed.; Rio, 1958). Ferreira de Sousa, APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 97v-99v. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1707, f. 263. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 31-39. Cavalcante e Albuquerque: APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 7, 1715, fs. 39v-40v. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1667, fs. 105-106. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 17-22. Rolim de Moura: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 200. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1698, f. 45. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 31, 1715, fs. 248v-250.

3. Manuel de Araújo de Aragão, Francisco de Araújo de Aragão, Francisco Barretto de Aragão, Antônio Aragão Pereira de Meneses, Antônio Paes de Aragão, Antônio Barbalho da França, Francisco Negreiros Cortereal, Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque, Bernardino Cavalcante e Albuquerque, Antônio Guedes de Paiva.

4. The Guedes de Brito and Dias de Ávila families were two of the largest landholding families in all of Brazil through multiple grants of sesmaria. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 476-478. Calmon, História da Casa da Torre. See the sesmaria grants in PAN, XXVII, entire.

5. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1678, f. 439. Livro 3 1704, f. 195. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 17, 1700, fs. 15-15v. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 53v-55. DHBNRJ, LXXI, 257.

6.Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 24. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1710, f. 326. Atas da Camara, IV, 1661, pp. 73-74; 1664, pp. 185-188. V, 1673, pp. 97-99. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 6, 1688, fs. 91v-93v. Livro 22, 1707, fs. 85-87.

7. For a biography of Pedro Barbosa Leal see below pp. 117-123. Burgos was not actually included in the sample group. For data on Burgos see the sources cited in note 58 below.

8. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 233-236. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 70.

9. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 53v-55. ASCMB: Termos de irmãos, Livro 3, 1704, f. 195. IHGB: "Memória de cabedal," f. 18.

10. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 182. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.6, 1701, fs. 67v-72. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 20, 1704, fs. 82v-83v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 88v-90.

11. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 178-181. Livro 28, 1713, fs. 92-93. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 89-90.

12. The immigrant Antônio da Rocha Pita, who eventually acquired four sugar mills, and whose heirs may have owned as many as ten mills by the mid-eighteenth century, was the heir and executor of his uncle Pedro Borges Pacheco, who had established himself as a large landowner and cane grower prior to Antônio's arrival. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 91-95. Wanderley Pinho, História de um engenho, pp. 91-95. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 429-436. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 133.

13. Monforte: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 6, 1688, fs. 136-138. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 99v-101v and passim. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 145-146. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 185v-187; 1702, fs. 255-256v. Amorim: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 12-13. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 161-162. Aires: Livro 30, 1714, fs. 87-88. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.25, 1708, fs. 398v-400. In 1710 Araújo appeared in a list of advogados who practiced before the Relação. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 169v-171v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 57v-58v.

14. Viana's father-in-law was the homen de negocio Francisco de Pina. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1713, f. 370. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 11, 1697, fs. 121v-124v. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Carvalho: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 70-71. Livro 30, 1714, fs. 123v-126.

15. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 144, 193. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1691, fs. 19-19v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 80v-82v. For a detailed biography of João Lopes Fiuza see below pp. 124-128.

16. The dowry was promised in 1697 and a receipt was given for the total sum in 1698. Manuel Brito Lobo's father was a cane grower who may also have owned a mill and his brother Bento de Araújo Brito was definitely a mill owner. In 1755 a complete list of senhores de engenho included a Sebastião Parîu de Brito (the son of Bento) and a Manuel de Brito Lobo. The latter was most likely the same young man who recieved the dowry or his son. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 107. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 4, 1685, fs. 194v-197. Livro 10, 1697, fs. 221-222. Livro 13, 1698, f. 118, incomp. Livro 31, 1715, fs. 224-226. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 429-436.

17. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 88.

18. For ample evidence of property owning by women see any volume of the Notas. Many transactions were negotiated in the names of both husband and wife although the husband, more often than not, served as his wife's procurador. Of 126 engenhos operating on the Recôncavo in 1755, 13 were listed under female names. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 429, 436.

19. Freyre, Sobrados e mucambos, I, 254-257.

20. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, 1687, fs. 193-195v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 8-10. Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1706, fs. 161-167, 170-171v (will of 25 Jan. 1704 registered on 15 Feb. 1706 and procuração of 17 Mar. 1706). Livro 16, 1725, fs. 114v-115v (sale of 4 Jan. 1706).

21. Machado's widow remarried, to Francisco Negreiros, within a year, and Amorim's widow married Luis Correa da Costa. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 24, 89-90, 185. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 22, 1707, fs. 85-87. Livro 16, 1700, fs. 178-181. Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1717, fs. 157-158.

22. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 94-97. MHRJ: Wanderley Pinho collection (uncatalogued), Pacote 6, doc. of 6 Feb. 1722.

23. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 121.1, 1665, fs. 129v-130v. APB-SH: Orden Régias, Vol. 20, doc. 29, 1726, f. 89. Sertão apparently never acquired a sugar mill and I could not determine whether João Peixoto Viegas actually operated a sugar mill, although he married the daughter of a senhor de engenho. For more on Viegas see chap. V.

24. See the sesmaria grants in PAN, XXVII, 1687, p. 83; 1690, p. 85; 1694, p. 96.

25. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 114v-115. Livro 30, 1714, fs. 110v-113v. Livro 31, 1715, fs. 4v-7v, 252-254.

26. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 201v-204. Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1706, fs. 161-167. Viveiros also received two sesmaria grants. PAN, XXVII, 1678, p. 65; 1696, p. 84.

27. Shipowning: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 17, 1701, fs. 199v-202. Livro 18, 1700, fs. 37v-39. DHBNRJ, LVIII, 221. Tax contracts: APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 570, 1705. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 28, 1713, fs. 167v-168v. Urban real estate: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 224v-227. Livro 11, 1697, fs. 121v-124v.

28. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 160v-162v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 189v-190v. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 174v-175. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 38v-41. Senhor de engenho Alesandre Gomes de Azevedo was a morador of Matoim who occasionally journeyed to the city. Notas, Capital, Livro 18, 1700, fs. 10v-11. Merchant and mill owner Manuel Mendes Monforte was a morador of Salvador. Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 160v-162v. Livro 16, 1700, fs. 20v-21v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 165-166.

29. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1682, fs. 529-530. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 185-186. Jaboatão has combined the careers of father and son in one person; the vital statistics refer to the elder Pedro Barbosa Leal and the biographical sketch about Pedro serving as colonel and founding Jacobina refers to the son.

30. Atas da Camara, V, 1670, 29-31. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1691, fs. 795-796. Livro 3, 1704, f. 188. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 110-111. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 121v-123. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 166v-168. Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1704, fs. 12v-13v. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.3, 1690, fs. 67-69; 1694, fs. 248v-251v.

31. Atas da Camara, V, 1682, 316-317. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 121, 151.

32. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1678, f. 439; 1691, fs. 795-796. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 8, 1693, fs. 93-95v. Livro 17, 1700, fs. 15-15v. Livro 21, 1704, fs. 26v-27. DHBNRJ, XXXII, 1688, pp. 272-273. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 20, doc. 30a, 1726, f. 92.

33. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.3, 1690, fs. 67-69; 1694, fs. 248v-251v. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1691, fs. 795-796. PAN, XXVII, 1691, p. 87.

34. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 224, 1703, f. 100; doc. 225, 1704, fs. 100-100v. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1714, fs. 91-92v. He received another sesmaria in what became Minas Gerais in 1707. PAN, XXVII, 1707, p. 120. His Parnaíba claims conflicted with those of the Dias de Ávila family. In 1719 he was called donatary in one document and in 1726 he was counted among the largest landowners in Brazil. Ordens Régias, Vol. 13, doc. 138, 1719; Vol. 20, doc. 29, 1726, f. 89.

35. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 270, 1697, fs. 126v-127. Ordens Régias, Vol. 4, docs. 102, 106, 107, 1697. Vol. 7, docs. 11, 12, 1702; doc. 398, 1706. Francisco de Assis Carvalho Franco, Dicionário de bandeirantes e sertanistas do Brasil (São Paulo, 1954), p. 201. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 33-34. Livro 36, 1721, fs. 84-86v.

36. Ruy, História da camara, pp. 357-358. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 117v-119v; 1701, fs. 157v-159. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 324-325. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 66v-68.

37. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 31v-32v. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1707, fs. 65-65v; 1708, fs. 73-73v; 1709, fs. 82-82v; passim, esp. 1714, fs. 309-310. Luis Lisanti Filho, Negócios coloniais (Uma correspondência comercial do século xviii (5 vols.; Brasilia and São Paulo, 1973), I, p. cdxcix, note 1.

38. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol 9.29, 1718, fs. 10-12. Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1721, f. 158v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital,

Livro 36, 1721, fs. 84-86v. Rocha Pita, História, p. 489.

39. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 20, doc. 30a, 1726, f. 92. Rocha Pita, História, p. 489, note 1. BNRJ-SM: Ms. II, 33, 26, 17, "Memórias e fundação do convento das Ursulinas," letter of 23 Sep. 1745, fs. 204-205.

40. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1702, f. 147. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 31-39. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol 439, 1700, fs. 198-198v, 206-206v; 1701, f. 216v; 1702, fs. 220v-221. Vol. 440, 1705, fs. 37v-38; 1706, fs. 51v-52. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 5, 1686, fs. 153v-154. Livro 7, 1690, fs. 68-70. Livro 11, 1697, fs. 118-120. Livro 18A, 1703, fs. 220v-221. Livro 19, 1701, fs. 124v-126v; 1702, fs. 134-137. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 45v-48v. Livro 22B, 1709, fs. 114v-116.

41. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 68-70. Livro 9, 1693, fs. 35v-36v. Livro 11, 1697, fs. 29-31. Livro 21A 1708, fs. 45v-48v. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 100v-101v. Livro 30, 1714, fs. 40v-41. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1702, fs. 1-1v. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1702, fs. 255-256v. Vol. 9.25, 1705, fs. 238-239v. Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.4, 1700, f. 10v. Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, fs. 196-199v.

42. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 31-39, 193. The geneologist indicates that Fiuza came from Ponte de Lima, but Nicolao's record of entry into the Santa Casa and Joao's will both say Viana.

43. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1718, fs. 13-14v; 1730, fs. 276-276v. APB-SJ: Testamento e inventario de 1741, João Lopes Fiuza, no. 4623. The will indicates that João acquired one mill from his father-in-law, at least in part by purchase.

44. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1708, fs. 99v-100. Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.1, unnumbered doc. of 10 Mar. 1712. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 8, doc. 88, 1714. For the disturbances of 1711 see chap. VII.

45. AMB: Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1723, fs. 197v-198v. The promotion was officially awarded on the basis of nearly fifteen years active service as captain and various services performed for the crown: the loan of a ship, the support of troops, and the offer of aid against the French. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1723, f. 115v; 1731, fs. 287-287v.

46. APB-SJ: Testamento e inventario, Fiuza, no. 4623. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 193. In 1755, the eldest son João Lopes Fiuza Barretto owned one mill and still in Pernamerim, and the daughter Dona Teresa Eugenia de Meneses and her husband João (or José) Felis Machado owned two mills and a still in Santo Amaro. The second João Lopes Fiuza

married Luísa Teresa de Santanna, the daughter of Manuel Fernandes da Costa. The identity of da Costa requires further investigation, but a merchant of that name was associated with the Fiuza brothers and was a member of the Mesa do Comércio in the 1720's. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 68-70, 103v-105. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 20, docs. 102 and 103, fs. 295-296. Dona Teresa's husband, Machado, was the son of sugar producer, slave trader, and militia colonel, Francisco Machado Palhares. See the will and Jaboatão cited above together with ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1698, f. 36; 1720, f. 446v. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, fs. 196-199v; 1714, fs. 219v-221. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 429-438, 445-448. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 40-42, 114-115v. Livro 21A, 1708. fs. 27v-29.

47. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 85.

48. For types of services see the militia patents issued between 1683 and 1725 in AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vols. 124.1-124.7 and Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2. For procedures, services, and policies see: Cleonir Xavier de Albuquerque, A remuneração de serviços da guerra holandesa (Recife, 1968). For other examples of awards see: Francisco de Assis Carvalho Franco, Nobiliario colonial (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1950). Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, II, 82-84. AMB; Provisões Reais, Vol. 121.1, 1678, fs. 202-206. Vol. 126.3, 1688, fs. 50-50v.

49. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 9, doc. 2, 1715. Even in the Dutch wars it was easier to obtain membership in the military orders. Albuquerque, A remuneração de serviços, pp. 73-75.

50. Sá received a patent as moço fidalgo as did his son Diogo. He purchased the Engenho Agua Boa in Sergipe do Conde in 1699. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1691, fs. 19-19v; 1700, fs. 19v-20. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 80v-82v. Garcia de Ávila was empowered to transfer his titles through one generation (uma vida mais). APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 3, doc. 50, 1694. Vol. 4, doc. 107, 1697. Vol. 5, doc. 122, 1699.

51. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 12, doc. 9, 1718.

52. These titles were used consistently by the same people. My calculation was based on usage rather than on the original patents. Possibly some men invoked titles to which they had no legitimate claim, although this would not alter my conclusions.

53. Rocha Pita, História, pp. xiii, 138, note 12. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 5. docs, 157, 157a, 1699. Virginia Rau (ed.), O "Livro de Rezão" de António Coelho Guerreiro (Lisbon, 1956), pp. 64-9.

54. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1687, fs. 47-47v. Rocha Pita, História, p. 63, note 7.

55. Albuquerque: APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Ordens Régias, Vol. 10, doc. 19, 1716. Vol. 12, doc. 9, 1718. Amaral: ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1679, fs. 491-493; 1687, fs. 721-722. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Ordens Régias, Vol. 12, doc. 31, 1718.

56. Stuart B. Schwartz, Sovereignty and Society in Colonial Brazil (Berkeley, 1973), pp. xvi-xvii, 171-190, 339 ff., 366.

57. See together: ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1693, fs. 921-922. Livro 3, 1714, f. 373. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 17, 1700, fs. 13v-14v. Livro 25, 1712, fs. 168-169, 208-210v. Livro 30, 1715, fs. 119v-121v. Livro 37, 1722, fs. 91-92v.

58. On Burgos see: Schwartz, Sovereignty and Society, pp. 353-355. Rocha Pita, História, p. 302. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 1, 1664, fs. 64-67v. Livro 6, 1688, fs. 6-8. Livro 12, 1698, fs. 111v-113v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 124-126v; 1702, fs. 189-189v.

59. The dowry is registered in: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700. fs. 92-93v. For the magisterial connections of the Cavalcantes and Rocha Pitas, see Schwartz, Sovereignty and Society, pp. 344-349.

60. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, 1687, fs. 42v-50. For typical patents see Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1703, fs. 24v-25. Vol. 124.3, 1694, fs. 243v-246, 264v-266v. Vol. 124.4, 1694, fs. 31-33; 1699, fs. 269v-272. Provisões Reais, Vol 121.1, 1677, fs. 194-196 (order of 1669).

61. For a sampling of the voluminous correspondence between the governors and the militia colonels, see: DHBNRJ, XLII (correspondência 1712-1716), LXIX (portarias 1720-1721), LXXVI (portarias 1734-1736). For specific examples of powers and charges of favoritism see: DHBNRJ, XLII, 1712, p. 4. LXXV, 1734, p. 242. LXXVI, 1735, pp. 145-151, 181-183. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1721, fs. 82v-83v; 1724, fs. 141-141v.

62. The thirty-three colonels were identified in my biographical files. Their patents may be found in the AMB collection cited in note 48 above. The group includes: Manuel Araújo Aragão, Pedro Garcia de Mello, Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque, Bernardino Cavalcante, Domingos da Costa Almeida, Francisco Barretto Aragão, António Guedes de Paiva, Francisco Brito Barbosa, Antonio Ferreira de Sousa, Sebastião Araújo Lima, Pedro Barbosa Leal, Gonçalo Ravasco, Egas Monis Barretto, Manuel Barros da França, António Campos Mergulhão,

Francisco Machado Palhares, José Pires de Carvalho, Antônio Silva Pimentel, Garcia de Ávila, Sebastião Araújo Góes, Francisco Pereira Botelho, Antonio Viera de Lima, Geraldo Baldes Leitão, Francisco Araújo Aragão, Francisco Calmon, Manuel Araújo Aragão (there are two), Pedro Camello Aragão Pereira, Francisco Dias de Ávila, Sebastião da Rocha Pita, Manuel Pereira Góes, Antônio Machado Velho, Luis Mello Vasconcellos, Domingos Borges de Barros.

63. On the Salvador council see: Ruy, História da camara. C. R. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics. The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda 1510-1800 (Madison, 1965).

64. See the council minutes and the correspondence between the camara and the crown. Atas da Camara, I-VI, 1625-1700. Cartas do Senado, I-III, 1640-1692. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vols. 9.24-9.30, 1697-1750. Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1710-1745. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1696-1714. Vol. 131, 1715-1741.

65. See chap. VII for a discussion of artisans.

66. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, pp. 74-75, 176-179. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1697, fs. 128-128v; 1698, fs. 132-132v; 1724, fs. 308-309. Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1698, fs. 22-24; 1700, fs. 36-36v. Ordens Régias, Vol. 21, doc. 102, 1727, f. 198v. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1718, fs. 48-48v. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, V, 396-400, 409.

67. For example see: APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, docs. 167, 167a, 1699. Vol. 25, docs. 18, 18a, 19, 19a, 1729. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 44v-46v, 83v-85. AMB: Cartas dos Governos das vilas e capitanias, Vol. 28.5, 1751, fs. 25v ff.

68. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, pp. 73, 77.

69. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 64, 111, 119-120.

70. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 64. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," pp. 192-193. It should be noted that not only planters asked to be excused from serving on the camara. For example in 1695 Domingos Maciel de Brito, a "mercador de grande negocio," petitioned to be excused because of pressing business obligations. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 3, docs. 87, 87a, 1695.

71. Ruy, História da camara, pp. 347 ff. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 49-50. DHBNRJ, LXXV, 1732, p. 103. LXXVI, 1736, pp. 322-323. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, doc. 167, 1699. Cartas do Governo, Vol. 149, 1704, f. 166v. BNRJ-SM: Ms. I, 4, 4, 95, doc. 19, 1728. This evidence confirms Schwartz's speculation, with regard to Russell-Wood's thesis, that the "Recôncavo towns replaced Salvador as the loci of planter power." Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy," p. 193, note 132. However, again it should be emphasized that planters remained active on the Salvador council as well as the vila councils. Defined to include growers and landed merchants, sugar and landed interests continued to dominate the Salvador camara.

CHAPTER V

LAND AND SOCIETY IN THE TOBACCO DISTRICT OF CACHOEIRA

To the west and north of the sugar zone lay the sprawling district of Cachoeira, for centuries the most important tobacco-growing region in all of Brazil. Beyond the confluence of the Jacuipe and Paraguaçú rivers its outer rim embraced the parishes of Agua Fría, São José de Itapororocas, and what became Santo Estevão de Jacuipe. Nearer the bay on either side of the Paraguaçú river were the parishes of São Pedro do Monte (Muritiba), São Bartolomeu de Maragogipe, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, and São Gonçalo dos Campos de Cachoeira. With the exception of São Bartolomeu, the entire area came under the jurisdiction of the newly-created vila of Cachoeira in 1698. The region contained a few sugar plantations, but by and large its economy was based on tobacco cultivation and, to a lesser extent, on cattle raising and food production.[1]

Compared with the lowland sugar zone the definitive settlement of much of this portion of the Recôncavo occurred rather late, not gaining momentum until the second half of the seventeenth century. Generally inhospitable to sugar, this higher, dryer inland territory assumed secondary importance as Bahians focused their attention and energies on the rich massapé area bordering the bay. Moreover, repeated

assaults by unpacified, semi-nomadic Indians had made life and property insecure and had frustrated early attempts at settlement.

In the last half of the seventeenth century this situation changed. A series of vicious, well-organized military expeditions secured a good part of the region for permanent settlement. And, at the same time, a growing demand for tobacco, a crop that flourished in a wide area where sugar could not be cultivated profitably, drew Portuguese immigrants and Bahians in increasing numbers away from the city and bayside to the interior of the Recôncavo.

The early development of the tobacco region is the subject of this chapter. Here we turn our attention to an area whose colonial history has been largely overshadowed by the preeminence both contemporaries and historians have assigned to sugar in the over-all development of Bahia.[2] Tobacco has been viewed traditionally as the small man's crop, but beyond that characterization very little has been written about the growers themselves or the internal structure and history of the sector. To add to our understanding of this important subject this discussion traces the early history of the tobacco district with special emphasis on land development and the emergence of the principal free social types that populated the region. A major theme here, as elsewhere, is that of diversity. In this expansive period the tobacco planters were characteristically neither land barons nor marginal agriculturists. Instead they comprised a heterogeneous group of large landowners and moderate-sized and small producers. Furthermore, in this period one already detects

the presence of a stratum of landless, poor tenants called colonos, whose importance in the late colonial era and the nineteenth century has often been noted.

The settlement of Cachoeira by the Portuguese, the orientation of economic production for export, and the introduction of slave labor nurtured an economic and social structure that bore some resemblance to the neighboring sugar sector. Nevertheless, the district possessed a character of its own. Its population was more dispersed and its fringe retained a decided frontier cast. In place of the sugar plantation, production and settlement centered in mixed agricultural and pastoral units called sitios or fazendas. In the early years, economic diversification and the relative flexibility of tobacco production in terms of cultivation, processing, and marketing afforded the tobacco planter, if not great wealth, at least a degree of security and independence. And, at a time when the mature sugar sector faced over-expansion and a stagnant market, the new tobacco district offered settlers from a variety of backgrounds economic opportunities.

The primary stimulus to the development of Cachoeira was tobacco, the sacred Indian weed that became one of the most important legacies--or curses--the New World presented the Old. In the words of Antonil, "if sugar made Brazil known in all the realms and provinces of Europe, tobacco carried her name to the four corners of the earth." [3] The first tabaco or fumo cultivated by Portuguese settlers in Bahia and introduced in Portugal in the mid-sixteenth century served a limited

market attracted by its alleged medicinal attributes. Accordingly, the early chroniclers limited their observations about the commodity to its usage by Indians and its health-giving qualities.[4]

Early production and export figures are too scanty to trace precisely the commercial ascendancy of tobacco, but in 1629 one commentator included it among the captaincy's minor commercial items, and in the following decade officials began complaining that farmers were converting their manioc fields to tobacco. The well-informed João Peixoto Viegas, a prominent citizen and major planter, dated the importance of fumo as an export commodity from the mid-seventeenth century, and in good years prior to the agricultural slump of the 1680's, Bahians dispatched around 160,000 arrobas to Portugal. This amount was destined both for internal consumption and for re-export to European and African markets.[5]

By the turn of the century, exports to Portuguese ports reached an annual 20,000-30,000 rolls of eight arrobas each, or between 160,000 and 240,000 arrobas. These figures were maintained, except in years of drought, during the first third of the eighteenth century.[6] By that time the use of tobacco abroad had become widespread, and in Bahia itself Antonil observed that "some men are so addicted they call it the holy herb and seem unable to live without it, smoking, chewing, and sniffing it at any hour at home or in public."[7]

In addition, in the early eighteenth century the volume of Bahian tobacco exported directly to Africa increased dramatically. In 1644, after the Dutch occupation of Angola, the Portuguese crown

authorized the opening of a direct trading route between Bahia and the Mina coast in order to assure Brazil an adequate supply of slaves. The Dutch masters of that area granted merchants the right to trade at four ports along what became the Dahomey coast. This trading cycle expanded gradually, but during the eighteenth century the direct exchange of tobacco for slaves--without shipment via Portugal--became one of the foundations of the Bahian economy. A low-grade tobacco made from the second and third cuttings constituted the basic commodity of exchange. Unacceptable on the European market, it became a particularly favored trading item in Africa and this popularity corresponded with the spiraling demand for slaves in Brazil occasioned by the opening of the gold mines in the interior.[8]

In 1698 merchants based in Bahia normally shipped only a modest 5000 arrobas to the west coast of Africa, but in the following decade exports rose to between 12,500 and 15,000 arrobas each year. In 1713, under pressure from producers, exporters, and the governor, the crown authorized unlimited exports of tobacco to Africa, and by the 1720's Bahians annually dispatched 20,000 rolls of three arrobas each, or 60,000 arrobas. The yearly volume fluctuated during the remainder of the century, but the over-all trend was one of growth. The engineer José Antônio Caldas reported at mid-century that more than 80,000 rolls of 2-3 arrobas each were sent to Africa annually.[9]

Thus it was in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that tobacco became firmly established as Bahia's second major commercial commodity. In that period Bahians annually exported

between 200,000 and 300,000 arrobas to two large markets. Furthermore, planters reserved a small portion of their produce for local consumption, sent a few thousand arrobas to other parts of Brazil, and produced an unknown but significant quantity to be marketed abroad as contraband.[10] During the eighteenth century the tobacco trade suffered the periodic crises endemic to an agricultural sector and an export-based economy, but the long-range trend was one of expanding production and exports.[11]

Tobacco growers (lavradores de tabaco or de fumo) first cultivated their produce relatively close to the city of Salvador on the fringes of the traditional sugar zone. Then, as Indian fighters secured new areas for settlement and as the demand for tobacco increased, the frontier expanded inward to the distant parishes of Agua Fría and Itapororocas. By the early eighteenth century contemporaries consistently defined the tobacco region as an area ten to thirty leagues from the city, or as far away as 120 miles.[12]

However, at the same time that the tobacco culture moved inland, planters also populated the plains and hills on either side of the Paraguaçú river below its juncture with the Jacuipe river. They particularly favored this region--encompassing part of the Campos of Cachoeira on the northeast bank of the Paraguaçú, and São Pedro do Monte and Maragogipe to the southwest--because of its proximity to the bay and to easy water transportation to the city. The spread of tobacco cultivation in these parishes alarmed both the Salvador council and royal officials who had intended the region to serve as a primary

source of foodstuffs for the city. However, the short growing season and relatively high returns brought by tobacco led many manioc farmers to convert more and more of their land to tobacco, thereby creating periodic shortages of manioc, corn, and beans needed in the city. Further compounding this problem, the tobacco planters normally brought small herds of cattle to fertilize their fields (and for additional income). They kept their own fields fenced but their livestock regularly destroyed the unprotected fields of neighboring manioc farmers.[13]

The Salvador council and the governor initially responded to these problems by requiring all pastures to be enclosed and by ordering farmers to raise equal amounts of manioc and tobacco. Towards the end of the seventeenth century official actions became more severe and a series of orders excluded tobacco growing and cattle raising altogether from the region concerned. Not all legislation referred explicitly to tobacco, but the connection was perfectly clear: where growers could not keep their herds, they could not fertilize their fields.[14] Finally, in 1701 local measures received the added clout of a royal edict prohibiting all but draft animals kept in closed pastures within an area ten leagues from the Atlantic coast and ten leagues from the mouth of any river emptying into the bay.[15] The controversial Campos of Cachoeira, Sao Pedro do Monte, and Maragogipe were the principal targets of legislation.

The royal edict of 1701 has usually been viewed as the official termination of open grazing in the coastal area and as a victory for agriculturists in a long struggle between ranchers and planters for control of the coast.[16] However, complementary local legislation and correspondence make it clear that in Bahia everyone understood the issue to center on whether a portion of the Recôncavo would be devoted to tobacco (implying small-scale cattle raising) or to food production. In a 1728 dispute about the execution of the edict, the Salvador and Cachoeira camaras clearly interpreted the problem in terms of tobacco versus manioc cultivation.[17] And in 1735, when the governor made one of many fruitless attempts to get the militia colonel of Maragogipe to enforce the order of 1701, he referred to His Majesty's designation of the region for manioc rather than tobacco growing.[18] It should be added that by 1701 cattlemen, in the true sense of the word, no longer demanded the Bahian coastal areas for open grazing; they had long since turned their attention to the sertao, opening new trails and establishing immense cattle ranches along the major water routes of the interior.

The combined force of the Salvador council and royal authority never succeeded in excluding tobacco cultivation from any part of the Campos of Cachoeira, Maragogipe, or São Pedro do Monte. Only soil exhaustion, drought, or a poor market could and did at times accomplish that. The city regularly imported basic food staples from Portugal and from other parts of Brazil, and the

best officials could hope for was that the farmers of Cachoeira and Maragogipe would not abandon the commerical production of manioc altogether.[19]

Land Development and Land Tenure

By the end of the seventeenth century much of the land lying within the districts of Cachoeira and Maragogipe had become concentrated in the hands of ten or fifteen families. It is well known that royal officials pursued a liberal policy of land distribution during that century and only towards its close began to impose limitations on the unhampered, if selective generosity of earlier years.[20] Even then restrictions placed on the number and extent of concessions (sesmarias) and laws requiring the confirmation of titles and the demarcation of boundaries were haphazardly enforced and came too late to have much effect on this region. By that time a few families, most notably the Araújo Aragão clan, the Adornos, The Cavalcante e Albuquerques, João Peixoto Viegas and his heirs, the Barbosa Leals,* the Dias Laços, and the Pereira Bacellar family each possessed titles to and claimed tens and hundreds of thousands of acres.

We possess only a rough notion of the extent of major domains because of the vagaries of land registration in the colonial period, but even incomplete records offer clear evidence of a high degree of concentration. The Cavalcante-Albuquerque acquired a sub-

* Not to be confused with the Pedro Barbosa Leal family discussed at length in Chapter IV. The two families were probably connected, but I have been unable to establish the precise relationship.

stantial portion, perhaps half, of the district of Maragogipe. The family head, Cristóvão Cavalcante, received a sesmaria in 1676 confirming claims to the area extending north from his sugar mill on the Riacho Batatán to the plains of Aporá.[21] To the northeast in the parish of São Pedro do Monte (Muritiba) the Barbosa Leals held title to seventeen square leagues of land (182,988 acres) and their neighbors, the Dias Laços, won confirmation of five square leagues near the Cachoeira-Paraguaçú river.[22] On the opposite bank of that river much of the territory situated within the parishes of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Gonçalo dos Campos pertained to the old, closely-connected Adorno and Araújo-Aragão families.[23] Finally, virtually the entire outer parish of São José de Itapororocas belonged to the Peixoto Viegas family, whose founder had received two enormous sesmarias confirming ownership of nearly all the land located between the Jacuipe and Paraguaçú rivers and extending over the plains of Jacuipe, Itapororocas and Agua Fría.[24]

A variety of factors, including early arrival, acknowledged wealth from sugar or commerce, and political influence permitted these particular families to benefit so spectacularly from the land distribution policy of the seventeenth century. But perhaps most important, land ownership came as an incentive or reward for actively defending and underwriting the cost of developing newly opened and insecure territory. The Adornos, for example, were one of the oldest and most distinguished of Bahian families. They traced their line to Bahia's foundingfather Caramurú and figured among the principal

sugar producers during the boom years. Apart from their settled, agricultural interests, however, several generations of Adornos led at least a dozen major peacemaking and punitive expeditions against the Indian tribes that repeatedly assaulted outlying fazendas. According to Cachoeira tradition, it was for his leadership of several expeditions (entradas) of the 1650s that Gaspar Rodrigues Adorno received four leagues of land on either side of the Cachoeira-Paraguaçú river including the site of the vila of Cachoeira. And this was but one of several concessions awarded the family over the years. A knowledgeable crown official reported that by the 1660s the Adornos had accumulated a stunning 44 leagues of land.[25]

The active defense and development of the outer northern Recôncavo brought the Peixoto Viegas family one of the largest landed empires in Brazil. João Peixoto Viegas emigrated from Viana in the first half of the seventeenth century, pursued a successful commercial career, and eventually married the daughter of a prominent Bahian citizen and senhor de engenho.[26] In 1650 this Salvador merchant purchased a large tract of land in Itapororocas, Jacuipe and Agua Fría from an early sesmaria grantee. The few fazendas that had been established had been wiped out by hostile Indians, but within three years Viegas founded a new settlement. At his own expense he transported cattle, slaves, his own retainers and some free settlers to the region. There he armed his people and built fortified houses and a chapel. Impressed by these initial efforts and the fact that the developer had "abundant capital to populate and cultivate said lands," the governor issued a sesmaria confirming ownership of not

only the purchased land, but neighboring unclaimed territory as well. In 1655, when Viegas requested a grant of the as yet unexploited region between the Jacuipe and Paraguaçú rivers, he met immediate success. To justify so generous an award, the governor again cited the example of the Itapororocas enterprise and its founder's substantial resources.[27]

Much of the territory contained in these two grants lay beyond the boundaries of even a very broad definition of the Recôncavo and a good part remained unoccupied throughout the colonial period. However, the most accessible and economically viable portions along the Jacuipe river and within the parish of São José de Itapororocas became an important tobacco and cattle zone. Security problems persisted for many decades and as late as 1726 periodic Indian attacks impeded the development of the area between the Jacuipe and Paraguaçú rivers. In that year the Crown authorized a retaliatory expedition and, following family tradition, this entrada was financed by the great landowner's son, Francisco de Sá Peixoto, and led by his grandson and namesake, Coronel João Peixoto Viegas.[28]

Despite the conferral of these enormous land grants, the familiar stereotypes of the Brazilian interior--the absentee owner and the unoccupied land concession--do not adequately describe the Cachoeira region in this period. Instead, the major landowners generally resided on and actively developed the most promising portions of their properties. While they retained control of thousands of acres well into the eighteenth century, they seldom kept their original acquisitions intact. They showed no immediate preference for

primogeniture or entail so that lands were divided regularly through inheritance. Through the first half of the eighteenth century only the Peixoto Viegas estate had been partially locked in entail and this was accomplished after thousands of acres of the original sesmarias had been alienated. In the process of development the large landholders divided their more accessible concessions into comparatively small and moderate-sized units called sitios or fazendas which they managed directly, leased for a small fee to tenants capable of staffing and utilizing the land, or sold outright.[29]

Various motives guided the distribution and management policies of the major landowning families. Periodically they found it necessary to sell pieces of property in order to settle accumulated debts. In 1714, for example, Hieronima Teixeira, the widow of Capitão-Mor Domingos Pereira Bacellar, sold the sitio "o coqueiro" for 1200 milreis, and the entire sum went to pay debts. This tract of land had been in the Pereira Bacellar family for two generations and originally constituted part of the family's extensive holdings in the varzea region of Cachoeira.[30]

Furthermore, one of the few early stipulations attached to awards of sesmarias required the populating and cultivation of land within a specific period of time. It was true for Brazil in general that grantees often ignored this clause or interpreted it loosely; the effective occupation of thousands of acres might mean little more than the erection of a lean-to and the introduction of a few head of cattle.[31] Nevertheless, it was in the interest of serious owners to populate and develop at least the most strategic of their claims in

order to control and protect them. The rental of parcels to tenants who would assume the financial burden of establishing cattle and tobacco fazendas provided an economical and rational means for opening virgin territory and defending it against marauding Indians, squatters and overly-ambitious neighbors. Such rentals in turn might lead to the permanent alienation of land both to attract permanent settlers and to reward good tenants. To name only one of many examples, the Bacellar family gave one tenant, Miguel Alves Correa, the land where he and five other tenants raised cattle and cultivated tobacco in acknowledgement of "many and great obligations." [32]

Two hundred and eighty-five property transactions registered for the districts of Cachoeira and Maragogipe between 1690 and 1725, and countless supplementary references (mortgages, descriptions of neighboring holdings, etc.) attest to the division of the large sesmarias. Prevailing demarcation practices were highly irregular and, reflecting this, the notaries frequently recorded the dimensions of properties leased and sold in vague terms. They might specify one dimension, usually measured in bracas (2.2 meters) along a river or stream, and simply indicate the second as "the usual in that district," "whatever," or simply "inland." Even these vague notations reveal that settlement occurred first along the major rivers such as the Cachoeira-Paraguaçú and the Jacuipe and their tributaries; the uncharted inland portions of the original land concessions were settled last and in some cases remained unpopulated or left to squatters--fuel for endless conflicting claims and boundary disputes.[33]

The creation of moderate-sized and small holdings is suggested by the complete information available for 104 of the 285 properties transferred between 1690 and 1720. The figures in Table 14 show that parcels ranged in size from under 100 to over 3000 acres, but approximately two-thirds of the transactions concerned properties that measured less than 1000 acres each; nearly all of these constituted holdings of between 100 and 600 acres. The size of these properties can be contrasted with that of the aggregate domains of the sesmaria families and with that of the cattle rances of the sertão which commonly measured ten, twenty, or thirty thousand acres.[34]

TABLE 14

LAND LEASED OR SOLD IN CACHOEIRA AND MARAGOGIPE
(1690-1720)

Size in acres	No. of properties
over 3000 acres	8
2000-2999	19
1000-1999	7
600-999	12
100-599	52
under 100 acres	6
	104

Source: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 1-42; Cachoeira, Livros 1-16.

A glimpse of the history of the Peixoto Viegas sesmarias provides a good example of land distribution and the creation of a separate group of property owners and tenants apart from the major

landowning families. It has been possible to determine the disposition of fifty-seven holdings carved out of the original seventeenth-century concessions. These parcels, devoted to cattle raising and tobacco growing, ranged in size from several hundred to a maximum of 2691 acres (one quarter of a square league). The land was worth anywhere from 300 to 2000 reis per acre depending on its location, the extent of river frontage, and the amount of land actually cleared and under cultivation at the time of evaluation. Members of the family resided on and directly administered two of the fifty-seven holdings, the fazendas "Formiga" and "São Jorge," and they leased ten properties to tenants. The remaining forty-five sitios had been sold or given outright (doação) to other individuals, with no continuing obligation attached to the land.[35]

The alienation of holdings occurred for several reasons. For example, Francisco de Sá Peixoto, who administered the family domain after his father's death, sold several pieces of land in order to settle debts left by his deceased brother Padre José Peixoto Viegas.[36] Francisco and his mother Dona Joanna also transferred land ownership to numerous tenants. In 1712 they sold to Miguel Borges da Cunha the 2691-acre cattle and tobacco sitio "O Mocambo," which he had staffed and developed ("onde o comprador já tem povoado"), and in 1718 the Gonsalves Bravo brothers and Bento Alvares de Araújo acquired the sitios they had worked "for years."[37] Furthermore, the family granted at least a few properties to relatives and persons connected to them by bonds of ritual kinship. João Peixoto Viegas' widow Joanna, for example, provided each of three goddaughters with

land in Itapororocas to help with their dowries. She also presented a choice tract of land along the Jacuipe river to her compadres José Vieira Soares and his wife.[38]

The concessions of the Barbosa Leal family offer another example of the division of sesmarias into more manageable units, this time with emphasis on leases rather than sales. Little is known about the early history of this family, but in the 1660s and 1670s the Bahian-born Francisco Barbosa Leal emerged as one of the most visible and active military figures in the district of Cachoeira. He led or joined various Indian-fighting expeditions, aided in opening an important route along the Paraguaçú river, and helped destroy several communities of fugitive slaves. For his services the governor awarded him the title of militia captain for the Campos of Cachoeira in 1668, and in 1687, two years before his death, promoted him to Sargento-Mor.[39] Moreover, between 1673 and 1699, Francisco and five members of his family spanning three generations received four sesmarias located along the Cachoeira-Paraguaçú river in the parish of São Pedro do Monte. The combined grants, all confirmed by the Crown, gave the family control of seventeen square leagues of land.[40]

One of these sesmarias went to Gaspar Pereira Ferras, both son-in-law and blood relation of the Indian-fighter Francisco Barbosa Leal. This grant, the "sesmaria de Candeal," encompassed an area measuring one-half by two leagues or 10,764 acres. In 1725 the grantee settled the entire property on his son, Francisco Barbosa Leal Sotomaior. By that time the land was worth 3200 milreis or about 300 reis per acre and had been divided into eighteen

parcels of something under 600 acres each on the average. These holdings were leased to eighteen different tenants or rendeiros. Three sitios had been newly opened and were in the process of development, one contained a brick and tile factory, and the remaining fourteen were leased to lavradores.[41]

By itself the renting of land did not place a particularly onerous burden on the leasee; rental fees were nominal and obligations minimal. For example, a member of the powerful Araújo-Aragão family leased a tract of land suitable for agriculture and cattle-raising and containing a woodland area to Sargento-Mor Tomé Pereira Pinto. The three-year agreement required only that Pinto pay the small sum of six milreis per year for full use of the land.[42] In contrast to rental agreements negotiated within the sugar sector, the contracts governing the relationship between landlords and tenants in the tobacco region were relatively uncomplicated. Cane growers normally transferred milling rights (and half their produce) to the senhores de engenho from whom they rented their canefields. While tobacco processing rights were negotiable to a certain extent, they did not enter into land transactions as did the milling rights for sugar.[43]

However, as his counterpart in the sugar region, and as independent landowners everywhere, the rendeiro in the tobacco zone normally assumed responsibility for developing his holding and staffing it with slaves. Thus he was likely to be a man of some substance rather than a poor tenant farmer. As occurred in the sugar zone, a

rendeiro occasionally leased a fully developed and staffed property. In such cases he was even more apt to be a person of some experience and financial responsibility. Certain landowners, such as priests, urban merchants, widows or owners of several estates, could not manage their fazendas directly, nor did they wish to assign their supervision to hired foremen. In these circumstances the owner might rent his sitio complete with slaves to a rendeiro. For example, one Cachoeira landowner with widespread interests, Alvaro Pereira Sodré, was unable to personally manage two tobacco and cattle fazendas which came to him as a dowry settlement. So he rented both, with their combined labor force of forty-three slaves, to an experienced tobacco planter, Baltasar Alves Pereira. The latter had resided in the district for some time and had just acquired a fazenda of his own from the same Alvaro Pereira Sodré, perhaps as a condition for assuming the management of Sodré's other properties. According to the rental agreement, Baltesar Alves leased the two fazendas for ten years for an annual fixed fee of 350 milreis. The tenant was empowered to exploit a rich timberland area and clear new land for food crops. At the end of the ten-year period the slaves would be evaluated and the tenant would be obligated to replace any that had died.[44]

Most if not all of the major landowning families in Cachoeira and Maragogipe leased and sold portions of their domains in order to develop them. In the process they helped create two important categories of ranchers and planters--the tenant or rendeiro and the small or moderate-sized independent landowner. Presumably the land magnates preferred to rent rather than permanently alienate

portions of their original concessions, but the available sources do not indicate whether tenancy or independent landowning dominated as a form of land tenure. It is clear, however, that in this formative period rendeiros moved rather easily into the category of independent landowner.

The Tobacco Sitio

The estates of Cachoeira and Maragogipe were of various kinds. The best lands near the bay and particularly in the Iguape region had long served for sugar production, and the outer rim of Cachoeira included some large-scale cattle raising beyond the ten-league limit where open grazing was forbidden. Moreover, the parish of São Pedro do Monte contained some specialized manioc fazendas where this basic food crop was produced for commercial purposes. But by and large, the typical sitio or fazenda in this region was a mixed estate, devoted in varying degrees to the cultivation of tobacco, manioc, beans and corn, and to cattle raising on a small scale--usually 150 head or less.

These mixed agricultural and pastoral sitios served several markets at the same time and could adapt production to accomodate changing market conditions. Tobacco was cultivated for local consumption to some extent and primarily for export to Europe and Africa; food crops were grown for subsistence and for shipment to consumers in the vilas of the Recôncavo and the city of Salvador; cattle herds--an essential source of fertilizer for tobacco--were periodically thinned to provide draft animals, hides, or meat for var-

ious buyers. If conditions permitted, the lavrador might also engage in fishing, tanning, brickmaking, or the sale of lumber and firewood.

As the records of land transfers and related transactions suggest, a sitio might occupy a parcel of land of almost any size. The Peixoto Viegas family, their tenants and clients devoted as much as one quarter of a square league of 2691 acres to a single sitio "for tobacco and food production and for cattle raising."[45] In contrast, the lavrador Antonio Gomes de Azevedo established a sitio where he cultivated tobacco, manioc, and corn, and kept a small herd of 30 head on 179 acres of land; furthermore, he granted half of this tract, or about ninety acres, to his brother, commenting that there was ample room for yet another sitio "for raising cattle and cultivating much tobacco, manioc, and other crops."[46] In general, the larger estates occupied newly opened territory beyond the confluence of the Paraguaçú and Jacuipe rivers. Size was a function of the quality of the soil and the relative importance of cattle-raising in the overall economy of the sitio. In addition, a large fazenda might include extensive timberlands to be exploited for lumber and firewood and eventually sold, leased, or subleased to others.

The physical plant of the mixed fazenda was usually quite modest. While the rural residences of the major landowning families might boast an imposing two-story stone house, a family chapel, and the other luxuries associated with the principal sugar plantations, the sitio more often contained a simple one-story dwelling of wood, clay, and straw, the slave quarters, and a shed or two for drying,

curing, and storage. The combination of agricultural and pastoral activities required some fencing for livestock corrals and to enclose fields. Notably absent from even the major fazendas were the numerous large out-buildings and the expensive iron and copper equipment used in the production of sugar. One sitio located in the parish of São José de Itapororocas included the following and may serve as an example of a typical moderate-sized to large establishment:[47]

Residence
Slave quarters
Curing shed for tobacco
Warehouse
Tools
Two small manioc mills (moinhos)
Two carts, eight yokes
Fencing
Tobacco fields
Manioc fields
Woodland area
Pastures
153 head of cattle
Two horses

There is no doubt that the growers and ranchers of Cachoeira were as firmly committed to the use of slave labor as the sugar planters. The number of slaves attached to each sitio varied widely according to several factors: (1) the overall size of the property; (2) the relative importance of cattle-raising, which required minimal supervision, versus agriculture, with its greater need for labor, in the economic make-up of the individual estate; and (3) whether or not the dried tobacco was processed into rolls on the sitio--a task requiring three to five skilled slaves.

One anonymous observer noted that normally one slave could raise ninety-eight arrobas of tobacco in a season. At that rate a

small lavrador could probably care for his cattle, raise subsistence crops, and plant (but not process) an average harvest of fumo (100-150 arrobas) with the assistance of two or three slaves.[48] A larger planter might require ten, twenty, or twenty-five slaves. The sítio in São José de Itapororocas described above, for example, was fully staffed in 1698 with twenty-four slaves. Another 191-acre fazenda was mortgaged in 1702 with a labor force of twenty slaves, and in 1722 the fully-staffed fazendas "Meirelles" and "Pau a Pique" were leased with twenty-two and twenty-one slaves respectively. These and other examples suggest that the mixed agricultural and pastoral sitios of Cachoeira employed slave labor forces of roughly the same size--two to twenty-five slaves per unit--as those used on cane farms.[49]

The categories of slave labor found in the tobacco district paralleled those present in the sugar region. Tobacco and food cultivation required field slaves, the escravos de enxada e foice, and to one degree or another the mixed estates relied on the services of a few semi-skilled and skilled slaves: boatmen, cartmen, fishermen, artisans, herdsmen, and the farinheiros and fumeiros who processed manioc and tobacco. Because of the seasonal nature of some tasks, one slave easily served in several capacities. The versatile Bernardo, a slave attached to the sitio "Jacaré," for example, worked as a cowboy, cartman, and when necessary as a fumeiro. On another fazenda the slave Isabel was both laundrywoman and farinheira, while Barbara was a "negra de muitos préstimos."[50] In addition, the wealthier planters and ranchers and their families were served by escravos da casa, the per-

sonal or house slaves.

Although the tobacco planter often invested as much capital in his labor force as did the cane grower, he found it easier and less expensive to buy a sitio of his own. High-grade tobacco grew best in humid, porous soil, but if properly fertilized it flourished in most parts of the Recôncavo, including the higher, dryer zones where sugar could not be grown profitably. The greater adaptive quality of tobacco meant there was less competition for choice land, and men of varying means could purchase land suitable at least for low-grade tobacco.[51] The values registered for various types of holdings in notarial transactions show that investments made in land and the physical plant of the mixed sitio were considerably less than those made in cane farms and sugar mills. The figures in Table 15 offer a rough measure of comparative investments.[52] The senhores de engenho naturally paid far more for their establishments, which might include canefields as well as the milling area, than either the sugar or tobacco growers. But a more significant comparison reveals that on the average the owners of tobacco and cattle sitios invested less than a third as much capital in land and improvements than did the land-owning cane growers.

Tobacco production, on either a small or large scale, offered other real advantages, From nearly every angle the tobacco business exhibited a degree of flexibility, not only in the selection and acquisition of land, but in cultivation, processing and marketing. One important characteristic of tobacco raising was its short growing

TABLE 15

VALUES OF SUGAR MILLS, CANE FARMS, AND TOBACCO-CATTLE SITIOS REGISTERED IN NOTARIAL CONTRACTS, 1684-1725*

Property	Range	Average
Sugar mills (17)	3,500-84,500 cruzados (1.400$000-33.800$000)	38,000 cruzados (15,200$000)
Cane farms (51)	1,500-17,000 cruzados (600$000-6,800$000)	6,400 cruzados (2.560$000)
Tobacco-cattle sitios (147)	500-8,000 cruzados (200$000-3200$000)	2,000 cruzados (800$000)

*excluding slaves and livestock

Sources: See the source note for Table 14.

season. The nurturing of an entire harvest, from seeding through finishing, occupied only about six to eight months of the year. This enabled the lavrador to cultivate two yearly crops, or freed him and his labor force for other pursuits. Furthermore, he could adjust his economic activities on rather short notice to accommodate changing market conditions.[53]

Planters seeded their tobacco in fertilized beds in May, June, or July, and about six weeks later transferred the seedlings to fenced and fertilized fields (malhadas). During the maturation period the plants required weeding, diligent pruning at precisely the

right intervals, and daily vigilance against the caterpillar (lagarta). Then, in the third or fourth month after transplanting, the leaves were harvested and suspended from the thatched roof of an open drying shed (casa de fumo) where they caught the wind but were protected from the sun.[54] This first harvest or primeira folha normally yielded the highest quality product for pipe or chewing tobacco and for snuff. Within two months the original plants produced a second crop, the segunda folha, and if the soil and climate permitted, yet a third crop could be harvested. The second and third cuttings (particularly the third) produced an inferior commodity intended for export to Africa.[55]

After a short drying period of about two days the leaves were taken down and their stems removed. At this point the grower perhaps selected a small portion of the best leaves for snuff (tabaco em pó). In this case the well-dried leaves were reduced to powder with a simple mortar and pestle after having been mixed with stems--for strength and color--and with a favorite essence or herb. Snuff was consumed locally and exported legally in small quantities, but because it was easily hidden and transported, it became an important item in the contraband trade to all markets.[56]

Most of the dried tobacco was twisted into cords and wound into rolls weighing about eight arrobas if intended for the European market, or three arrobas if bound for Africa.[57] Producers considered this work, requiring both strength and skill, particularly loathesome and always allotted it to three, four, or five slaves. Occupying the better part of a month, this process began with the twisting of

leaves into long thick cords either by hand or with the aid of a simple wooden roda or engenho (wheel) that lessened the physical effort and produced a more uniformly twisted cord. For two or three weeks workers tightened each cord by undoing and retwisting it and transferring it from one wooden pole (pao) to another. Once the tobacco achieved the proper consistency and color the cords were joined in threes and coated with a syrup concocted from molasses, selected herbs, and the liquid residue gathered during the twisting procedure. Finally, the slaves used another wooden apparatus to wind the cords into rolls that were then wrapped in hides stamped with the mark of the producer.[58]

Processing arrangements were not at all rigid in this period and the lavrador could elect to finish his produce on his own sitio or he could engage the services of specialized enrolladores (literally, the men who rolled tobacco) and pizadores (snuff-makers). The physical plant for transforming the dried leaf into rolls ready for shipment actually consisted of very little: an open shed, simple wooden implements, the coating ingredients, and hides for wrapping. The most costly element was labor, the three to five skilled slaves who did the twisting and rolling. Together these represented modest requirements when compared to the more complex sugar engenhos and the investments made by their senhores in larger, sounder constructions, the mill itself, iron fittings and copper vessels, an endless supply of fuel, and perhaps fifty or more slaves to work in the mill area. So large an undertaking, it will be remembered, forced the cane growers

to rely on a separate group of mill owners to process their cane, a form of dependence that normally cost the lavrador half his harvest. In contrast, many lavradores de tabaco could completely prepare their own produce for export without incurring debilitating costs or surrendering half their profits to another manufacturer.[59]

In the early eighteenth century it is clear that the large and moderate-sized planters "customarily" processed their own tobacco on an individual basis. Furthermore, they defended this practice vehemently. The issue became controversial, however, with regard to the preparation of the small 2-3 arroba rolls destined for the Mina Coast. Technically these contained only low-quality tobacco unacceptable on the European market, but producers repeatedly diverted high-grade fumo to Africa in hopes of better returns. To end this illegal activity crown officials decided to regulate the manufacturing process itself and ordered that low-quality tobacco be rolled only in the city of Salvador and under royal supervision. The first such order, issued in 1699, was soon rescinded when irate planters won the support of the governor in pleading their case in Lisbon.[60]

In 1722 another governor, the conscientious Conde de Sabugosa, ordered centralized processing to avoid fraud, and the tobacco planters registered another strong protest. One hundred and ninety-four lavradores de tabaco from the principal tobacco-growing parishes sent four petitions in defense of individual processing rights to the king. In their defense the growers respectfully reminded the king of

their crucial role as producers of much of the tobacco sent to Portugal as well as that destined for the Mina Coast. They denied the charges against them, claiming that they selected the best of their first and second harvests exclusively for the European market and reserved only the worst of their produce for export to Africa. They stressed the importance of this second market to their general well-being: the direct exchange of tobacco for slaves in Africa kept their operations running steadily. In pleading to retain manufacturing rights over their African-bound produce, the planters noted that they had traditionally processed all their tobacco in their own casas de fabrica, and they ennumerated the disadvantages of sending unprocessed or partially finished tobacco to the city. They argued that their cargoes would be vulnerable to theft and to indiscriminate mixing by the slaves who drove loaded carts to the points of embarcation and who worked in the warehouses along the bay; the hodgepodge of passengers and slaves on the small vessels carrying goods to the Salvador customshouse posed a similar threat. Finally they argued that their profits would be needlessly reduced if they were forced to employ the services of the enrolladores located in the customshouse.[61]

In his correspondence with the crown, the governor conceded some of the points made by the planters, but insisted that more careful inspections for fraud be undertaken in the city and at various checkpoints in the Recôncavo. The issue of individual versus supervised finishing arose again from time to time throughout the eighteenth century, but the evidence indicates that the more substantial planters

continued to prepare their own rolls for export.[62]

If for any reason a lavrador could not process his harvest he could take his dried leaves or perhaps the twisted cords elswhere to be finished. The small planter or the occasional grower was most likely to do so rather than purchase specialized slaves to manufacture ten or fifteen rolls. It seems likely that the small growers might use the facilities and labor of the large planters in an arrangement analogous to that operating in the sugar sector, but this development remains to be confirmed. Certainly in this period such procedures were not formalized, nor did they enter into land transactions. Certain planters did hire the services of enrolladores situated in the warehouses or the customshouse. A letter of 1729 mentions "three or four enrolladores located in the customshouse who have enriched themselves at the expense of lavradores."[63] I suspect that the enrollador was an artisan-type who supervised the work of skilled slaves, perhaps with the backing of tobacco merchants. It should be added that another aspect of processing--the manufacture of snuff--was also undertaken in Salvador. Around 1699 about twenty-five pizadores (snuff-makers), notorious for their dealings in contraband, resided in the capital.[64]

One contract of 1702 suggests that to some extent tobacco processing rights, like sugar milling rights, had become negotiable as a part of credit transactions. Diogo Nunes Henriques, a merchant based both in Cachoeira and Salvador, loaned 700 milreis to a tobacco planter named Bartolomeu Pereira de Castro. As was usual in loan

agreements, Castro mortgaged his sitio "Mamao," where he cultivated tobacco, kept seventy head of cattle, and employed fifteen slaves on lands leased from the Aragão family, and agreed to pay regular interest rates. However, Henriques extended the loan on condition that the planter turn over his entire harvest to be rolled ("para enrollar") as long as the principal remained outstanding. To sweeten the bargain, Henriques offered to charge less than the going rate for processing.[65]

The merchant Henriques owned at least one valuable piece of property in the tobacco district that he had purchased from the Adornos and then leased to three planters. Quite possibly he maintained his processing unit on his Cachoeira lands or at a warehouse, and then made arrangements to finish the produce of his tenants and other planters such as Bartolomeu Pereira de Castro. Certainly centralized processing was not a predominant structural characteristic of the tobacco sector in its early stage of development, as it became much later. However, official attempts to centralize processing of African-bound produce and arrangements of the sort made by the merchant Henriques may represent the first steps taken in that direction.[66]

Regardless of where or under what conditions manufacturing occurred, the tobacco produced on the Bahian Recôncavo was transported in carts to various points of embarcation along the bay, the most important of which was the port and vila of Cachoeira. From there it went across the bay to the warehouses located in Salvador's lower city and eventually to the customshouse. In 1699 royal officials

leased separate weighing and customs facilities from the city's largest warehouse owner to accommodate the burgeoning volume of tobacco exports.[67] Some of the larger planters marketed their own produce, but most growers sold their tobacco to merchants. In 1701 the crown set a price ceiling of 1200 reis per arroba for the best quality tobacco sold in Salvador, but by the 1720's producers and buyers annually elected representative to negotiate prices, just as sugar producers and buyers did.[68]

Both independent merchants and the agents of the Iberian contractor who possessed a monopoly of distribution in Portugal dispatched high-grade tobacco packed in rolls of seven or eight arrobas to the mother country. At the turn of the century about three-quarters of the Brazilian tobacco entering the ports of the metropolis was then redistributed outside Portugal.[69] Although the planters relied on the European market to absorb much of their total production, they gained a great deal when the African market was opened to unlimited and direct exports in the early eighteenth century. As mentioned before, in theory the Portuguese market always had top priority (particularly when harvests were limited) and only low-grade tobacco processed into small rolls was to make its way to Africa. In practice, merchants and planters conspired to send as much fumo as possible, regardless of quality, to the Mina Coast.

The African market was particularly favored for several reasons. As has already been noted, planters depended on this trading

route to provide a steady supply of labor. This was of utmost importance in the early eighteenth century when the opening of the gold mines in the interior caused periodic labor shortages on the coast.[70] In addition, the swift sailing vessels bound for Africa were not organized under a fleet system, as were the trading ships to Europe, but sailed at spaced intervals throughout the year to avoid glutting markets and lowering prices.[71] The slave and tobacco merchants benefitted most directly from this system, but the planters also hoped to share the higher profits provided. So high was the reputation of this trading cycle that perfectly good tobacco was allowed to deteriorate or was kept off the market until after the fleet left for Lisbon so that it could be sent to Africa.[72]

The west coast of Africa became a favored market too because of its importance as a center of contraband trade. Planters, merchants, and customs officials engaged in various forms of subterfuge to divert high-quality tobacco to this area where it was sold to the French, English, and Dutch for better prices than could be obtained through legal channels. This arrangement, which effectively eliminated the numerous duties and middlemen's profits normally paid in Portugal, was advantageous to all concerned, including the growers. In one year, for example, Bahian tobacco planters received 1800 reis per arroba for high-grade fumo destined for Portugal, while the contraband merchants paid them 2200 reis for the identical product diverted to the Mina Coast. Such profits were reason enough for the planters to vigorously defend individual processing rights for,

it should be made clear, the first step in diversion was taken during processing, when the tobacco was packed in small rather than large rolls and mismarked. Royal officials were well aware that merchants and planters garnered high profits from this illegal traffic and that the system functioned with the acquiescence of the officials responsible for inspecting the quality of tobacco.[73]

The existence of two major markets for tobacco and the special advantages offered by the Mina Coast trade undoubtedly contributed to the viability of the tobacco sector in the early eighteenth century. Considering this factor and the others discussed above--a generally expanding market, the relatively low costs of production in comparison to sugar, and the relative flexibility of cultivation and processing--it is not surprising that Bahians were drawn to tobacco growing in increasing numbers throughout the eighteenth century.

The Tobacco Planters

By the turn of the eighteenth century the demand for tobacco had attracted some 2000 planters to the Recôncavo, including large producers who harvested as much as 3500-4000 arrobas of tobacco annually as well as small growers who raised less than 100 arrobas each. At current exports of 200,000 to 300,000 arrobas per year, on the average each planter furnished 100-150 arrobas for export.[74] It may be assumed that the average yield per grower was actually higher in good years, since the amount produced for local consumption and for contraband cannot be quantified. Of course the number of working planters fluctuated from year to year in response to the

vicissitudes of tobacco production and marketing; marginal growers in particular fell prey to the irregularities of weather, prices, and demand. Around 1680, for example, falling prices led some producers to abandon tobacco cultivation and withdraw into subsistence farming. After the opening of the gold mines, disgruntled lavradores pulled up stakes and migrated to the interior whenever tobacco-growing proved unprofitable. A series of bad harvests and a temporary disruption of trade in the late 1720s drove some marginal planters to the mines, although the governor persuaded the major lavradores to continue production.[75]

Despite such variations, the number of persons engaged in tobacco planting increased substantially during the eighteenth century. In 1788 the juíz de fora of Cachoeira, Joaquim de Amorim Castro, himself a knowledgeable planter, reported that his district alone contained between 6000 and 8000 planters who produced 525,000 arrobas annually, or 66-88 arrobas per grower.[76] The disparity among growers evident in the early years of tobacco-growing was maintained. Around 1790 one anonymous observer wrote:

> ...because of the low costs involved, all who are willing and able and who possess any degree of stability become tobacco planters, and each is content with that which he is able to plant and process...This explains the variety of cargoes entering the storage and weighing house in Bahia where one lavrador might turn in twenty rolls for inspection--when they are not diverted to contraband--while another brings in one hundred, two hundred, or even more rolls. Thus in its cultivation and processing tobacco accomodates everyone, embracing the poor as well as the rich.[77]

While tobacco production characteristically attracted men of varying means, it is likely that the small planter became relative-

ly more important in the course of the eighteenth century. This trend is suggested by the fact that while the number of growers tripled or quadrupled, the average yield per grower declined from about 100-150 arrobas in 1704 to about 66-88 arrobas in 1788. And this change may have been accompanied by two corollary developments: a predominance of tenancy over ownership in land tenure patterns, and an increasing separation of cultivation and processing in the organization of tobacco production. A detailed examination of the tobacco sector in the late colonial period may confirm or qualify these suggestions. However, at present our concern is with the types of persons who became tobacco planters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The free agricultural society that took root in the tobacco districts of Cachoeira and Maragogipe fell roughly into three categories. The first group consisted of the land-grant families who initially controlled and oversaw the development of most of the land in the region at the same time they produced tobacco. A second and far more numerous category was formed by the smaller landowners and tenants who owned and managed the tobacco-producing and cattle-raising sitios and fazendas described above. Wide differences in land tenure and wealth made this a highly diversified category that embraced the tenants of small holdings as well as the owners of several large fazendas. Yet because all were slaveowners and commercial producers, and because tenants became landowners rather easily in this period, they are best considered as a single, though varied, group. Finally, a third level of agriculturist was composed of poor.

landless subsistence farmers, called colonos or lavradores de roça.

To begin with, the handful of families whose financial resources and military services made them the chief recipients of sesmarias in Cachoeira and Maragogipe, naturally formed a regional economic, social, and political elite. And their preeminence in this region, combined with their traditional ties to the city of Salvador and the sugar sector, placed them in the Bahian elite in general. In fact, at least four of the families concerned--the Araújo Aragões, the Cavalcante de Albuquerques, the Adornos, and the Pereira Bacellares--were at once large landowners in the tobacco district and the principal sugar producers.[78]

The economic power of the Peixoto Viegas, Barbosa Leals, Adornos, and others in the region was based of course in the immense holdings which enabled them to direct the distribution of land to settlers, largely unhampered by any but the most nominal official intervention. It is impossible to calculate the kinds of incomes they derived from the sale and lease of land, from their own fazendas, and from other sources; but scattered figures give the impression that these were families of considerable wealth. For example, one of the daughters of the merchant and great landowner João Peixoto Viegas carried a very large dowry of 40,000 cruzados to Portugal. And in 1719, Sargento-Mor Feliciano Pereira Bacellar of the varzea district provided his goddaughter and niece with a stunning dowry of 60,000 cruzados. The enriched groom in this case was Dr. Luís Pereira de Sousa, a crown minister and high court judge in Bahia.[79]

Even the small settlement of Nossa Senhora do Rosário de

Cachoeira was the private reserve of one landed family during the seventeenth century. The Adornos founded the settlement on the banks of the Cachoeira-Paraguaçú river on one of their sesmarias around mid- century. They eventually constructed an imposing family residence along with a large warehouse and the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, which became the matrix of and gave the name to the parish created in 1674. To augment their income, the Adornos leased lots to urban residents and shopkeepers for 900 reis per braca (2.2 meters). In addition, for years the family warehouse received all of the tobacco harvested in the district before it was shipped across the bay to Salvador. This monopoly brought emoluments of 40 reis per roll stored.[80]

In time the Adornos lost their personal control of Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Cachoeira. In 1698 the governor raised the settlement to the status of vila and gave it its own governing camara with jurisdiction over the vila proper, the neighboring tobacco parishes and the sugar parish of Santiago de Iguape.[81] By the 1720s they had sold off or lost in litigation much of their urban real estate and what remained was all mortgaged to a Cachoeira merchant named Manuel da Costa Pinheiro. Furthermore their valuable monopoly of tobacco storage had passed to a group of merchants.[82]

The changing status of the community reflected the demographic growth and economic prosperity of the period. By the 1720s both the tobacco boom and the strategic location of Cachoeira on one of the two major trading routes between the coast and the mines had transformed the settlement into a small urban center with "great commerce and many residents."[83] The vila received a good part of the

district's tobacco harvest and served as a distributing point for slaves and merchandise. In the vila and its environs traders organized convoys destined for the mines with slaves, imported European goods and local products such as livestock, cane brandy, and tobacco. No longer the private patrimony of a single family, the settlement assumed some of the functions previously exercised by the city of Salvador. It served as an administrative and judicial center for the large tobacco and cattle district. Its resident merchants and commercial agents and a handful of lawyers and notaries placed legal and commercial services closer at hand. And, finally, new brotherhoods and townhouses gave the vila a social life of its own.[84]

The declining fortunes of the Adornos in the vila of Cachoeira signaled the development of a larger and more complex socity in the region, one which accommodated an increasing number of lavradores as well as a small resident community of merchants. At least through the 1730s, however, the older sesmaria families exercised considerable social and political influence. The group was never sufficiently numerous to monopolize the local offices that conveyed distinction and power, but throughout the peirod they repeatedly filled key posts in the militia and the Cachoeira camara. Virtually all of the great landowning families were represented among the high militia command for Cachoeira and Maragogipe which included: Sargento-Mor Francisco Barbosa Leal, Sargento-Mor Feliciano Pereira Bacellar, Coronel Manuel Araújo Aragão, Coronel Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque, Coronel Bernardino Cavalcante e Albuquerque, Coronel Gaspar Pereira Ferras, and Coronel Francisco Barbosa Leal Sotomaior.[85]

The same or similar persons occupied seats on the Cachoeira municipal council as well. The very first council that met in 1698 included three familiar representatives of the large landholders: first magistrate Coronel Manuel de Araújo Aragão, vereador and Sargento-Mor Feliciano Pereira Bacellar, and the camara scribe, Gaspar Pereira Ferras. Ferras went on to serve as magistrate in 1710 and 1728. The same position was held by Francisco de Sá Peixoto, the son of land magnate João Peixoto Viegas in 1703, and by João Rodrigues Adorno in 1703 and 1709.[86]

It will be remembered from our discussion of the sugar elite that the responsibilities assumed by the Recôncavo militia regiments and the vila councils were wide-ranging. The Cachoeira camara regulated day-to-day urban affairs such as local commerce and municipal improvements, and the magistrates (juízes ordinarios) convoked courts of the first instance. Both the council and the militia command were charged with executing orders from the governor, and the militia colonels and captains comprised the chief agency of law enforcement in the entire region. Typical tasks included the collection of royal taxes, the safe conduct of the harvest to port, the capture of criminals, and the enforcement of special directives pertaining to important economic matters such as the contraband trade to the mines and the limiting of tobacco production. The fact that the regular enforcement of these and other measures depended on the very men whose own economic interests were at stake helps explain why compliance with royal orders was often lax or erratic.[87]

In spite of the considerable legitimate authority conferred

with militia and council posts, the large landowners occasionally resorted to extra-legal means to extend or protect their family interests. To name just one example, the Dias Laços family of the parish of São Pedro do Monte repeatedly used violent means to usurp the land of a neighbor, Capitão João de Cerqueira Campos. Campos took his claim to court where the matter was decided in his favor sometime prior to 1718. However, the Dias Laços brothers defied both the high tribunal in Lisbon and the governor by gathering a private force of "armed vagabonds" and refusing to budge. Significantly, the local militia colonel who had been instructed by the governor to reinstate Campos simply held his orders for months without acting.[88]

The encouraging prospects of tobacco, the relatively easy terms of tenancy, and the promise of landownership assured the expansion of a second group of agriculturists in the region, the lavradores de tabaco who leased and owned tobacco and cattle sitios. The notarial records for the early eighteenth century reveal the names of 450 lavradores de tabaco, apart from the large landowners described above. Although few of these planters acquired the wealth or prominence that generates good biographical data for the historian, enough scattered information exists to offer some generalizations about the formation of the group.

Clearly the tobacco planters proceeded from diverse backgrounds. New of prospering Cachoeira attracted grain farmers from Portugal and the Atlantic islands, and at one point the Salvador city council reported that each arriving ship brought upwards of eighty of these immigrant lavradores. In addition, many food pro-

ducers already established on the Recôncavo, particularly in Maragogipe and São Pedro do Monte, became tobacco planters on a full or part-time basis.[89]

Still other tobacco planters were veterans of the Indian-fighting expeditions of the seventeenth century who had turned to a more sedentary life. One such planter was Manuel Soares da Rocha who had participated in various entradas organized to seek and destroy hostile Indian villages in the sixties and seventies. In three particularly violent encounters he was partially responsible for imprisoning and executing several hundred Indians. From 1689 to 1695 he served as a soldier, squad leader, and corporal in the militia regiment of oronel Manuel de Araújo Aragão, and in 1695 his cumulative military services won him the title of Capitão-Mor in charge of capturing runaway slaves. In the calmer years of the early eighteenth century Soares da Rocha devoted most of his time to his cattle and tobacco interests in the parish of São José de Itapororocas. He resided with his family on his sitio Capuruçú and occasionally took an interest in political affairs in the vila of Cachoeira. In 1705 he met with other planters to formulate a defense of individual processing rights, and in 1710 he served briefly as substitute procurador for the vila council.[90]

Some tobacco planters were former Salvador merchants who had not only invested in tobacco production, but had also decided to settle in Cachoeira permanently. For example, around the turn of the century two city merchants named Diogo Vas Lordello and Manuel Fernandes Ventura moved to the parish of São Pedro do Monte where

they acquired their own fazendas and called themselves lavrador de tabaco. Both men married daughters of another substantial planter in the parish, Domingos Vieira Soares.[91]

As we have seen, this one-generation move from commerce to agriculture, one of the most dynamic processes in the formation of Bahian society, operated in the sugar sector as well. However, while only the larger merchants, or homens de negocio were likely to become sugar planters on a long-term basis, merchants of all kinds, including small traders and shopkeepers, became tobacco planters. Such men found it possible to carry on their small-time commercial operations and manage their sitios at the same time both because Cachoeira was conveniently located along a main trading route to the cattle ranches and mines of the interior, and because tobacco growing did not require constant year-long attention. Francisco Ribeiro Pinto, for example, had been a mercantile agent in Salvador during the 1690s, but eventually moved to the distant parish of São José de Itapororocas and leased a fazenda. There he resided with his wife and lived "by his business," maintaining trading connections in the vila and with the settlers of Piauí.[92] In addition, a shopkeeper and immigrant from Braga, Manuel Francisco Miranda, moved from Salvador to a fazenda in São Pedro do Monte where he lived by planting and trade, while Antônio Rodrigues de Barros, who resided near the vila, was at once a lavrador and merchant. The mercantile affairs of such men mostly involved the distribution of modest quantities of dry goods, wine, and other items to the settlements of the interior.[93]

For the most part, the grain and manioc farmers, military

veterans, and merchants who formed the new tobacco sector were men of predominantly Portuguese heritage. However, some pardos, born of mixed unions in the region, became lavradores de tabaco as well. Two such planters were João Rodrigues Lopes and Paulo Rodrigues Manuel, the natural sons of a black woman and a Portuguese man named Domingos Rodrigues Manuel. Nothing is known about the mother, but the father resided in Salvador and supported his legitimate family with the income from a variety of modest investments. Just prior to his death he purchased a cane farm and still in Itapagipe, but he left this property so heavily indebted that his heirs were forced to sell it.[94]

Significantly, Domingos Rodrigues Manuel did acknowledge paternity of his two illegitimate pardo sons and in 1684, when both were still young men (moços), he provided each with sufficient cattle and slaves to start his own sitio on lands rented from the Adorno family. To João he gave one hundred head of cattle and eleven slaves, and to Paulo he granted "about 100" head and six slaves.[95] With this important beginning, both men became lavradores de tabaco and resided in Cachoeira at least until the 1720s. Paulo owned at least three sitios of his own, "o jenipapo," "o jacaré," and "o muricí." Despite the fact that pardos normally had difficulty obtaining loans from the major lending institutions and private lenders, Paulo negotiated a cash loan of 2000 cruzados in 1709 and one amounting to 1000 cruzados in 1715. In both cases he borrowed from white men described as "old friends." Furthermore, although marriages between pardo men and white women do not appear to have been common, both João and Paulo wed white women, Teresa Rodrigues de Paiva and Paula Nunes, respectively.

In Paulo's case at least, marriage added to his property.[96]

These and other examples suggest that pardos found greater economic opportunity in the tobacco region than in the sugar zone, for which, it will be remembered, we found only one example of a non-white cane grower. Even so, non-white representation among tobacco planters remained small in this period. Of the 450 lavradores identified in the notarial records, only fourteen, or about three percent, were described as non-white. (All but one of these were pardos, or persons of mixed blood.) It may be added that the modest success of the two pardo brothers cited above hinged in part on especially favorable circumstances such as paternal responsibility and access to credit. In the absence of such support many pardos probably found it difficult to compete for the land and financing to make a going concern.[97]

Thus far our study of the tobacco sector has focused on the large landowners in the region and the owners and tenants of mixed agricultural and pastoral sitios, that is, the bulk of the lavradores de tabaco. However, on the marginal lands of the sitios and fazendas and on the uncharted portions of the large land grants, a third type of agriculturist, called a colono or lavrador de roça, maintained a precarious existence. The colonos were free, landless subsistence farmers. It was in this category that the free colored population of the Recôncavo eventually became concentrated.[98]

The large landowners and the tobacco planters who owned or leased sitios permitted the colonos to reside on their holdings for a nominal rent or in exchange for a portion of the produce of their

rocas or plots. The Adornos, for example, possessed several tracts of land populated exclusively by "many" or "various" colonos who worked their small agricultural plots. In 1721 João Rodrigues Adorno awarded one such parcel to a young priest in order to provide him with a lifetime yearly income of 25 milreis; the income would come from "various" colonos who labored on their roças. A sitio sold in 1713 by Antonio Dias Barreto contained "various" colonos from whom he collected rent, and when the tobacco planter Jasinto Teixeira Carvalho mortgaged his sitio "cai tatú" he described it as a parcel of land with woods, cultivated fields, sixteen slaves, and "a few colonos."[99]

The poor subsistence farmer maintained only a tenuous tie to the land he worked. Unlike the more substantial rendeiros who leased tobacco and cattle fazendas, his tenure was not guaranteed by legal contract and he continued to cultivate his roça only so long as his presence was tolerated by his landlord. For example, when the Dias Laços family leased a large tract of land containing "many" colonos to a neighboring tobacco planter, they empowered the latter to add or expel colonos at his pleasure.[100] The inferior position of the colonos is underlined by the great impersonality with which they were treated in notarial contracts. While landlords carefully named the tenants who managed sitios and fazendas, the subsistence farmers were invariably described as "many," "various," or "few."

Significantly, none of the major descriptive works of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries describes the category, although it figures prominently in the literature of the nineteenth century. The French traveler, L. F. Tollenare penned one

of the best profiles during his 1816-1818 sojourn to Pernambuco and Bahia. By that time, according to Tollenare, the moradores or colonos had become the most numerous group of free persons in the countryside and most of them were mestiços and mulatos. They paid a small amount--no more than ten percent of their produce--to construct a shack and cultivate a small piece of land. They signed no rental agreements and their landlord could order them off his land at any time. The Frenchman held a fairly low opinion of the colonos, whose impoverished condition he attributed to indolence.[101]

While the colonos appear with some regularity in the early eighteenth century descriptions of Cachoeira holdings, I found no similar references in the records pertaining to mills and cane farms. This is somewhat bewildering since Tollenare clearly associates the moradores and colonos with the sugar zone. My records may be incomplete or it may be that the colonos became numerically important first in those areas where the land was less intensively populated and cultivated. In the early eighteenth century, Cachoeira may have seemed particularly attractive because of the greater availability of land, the tobacco boom, and its location on the route to the mines. Later, as the sugar frontier moved inland and as old mills and farms were abandoned, the colonos perhaps distributed themselves throughout the Recôncavo.

Although the growth of a numerically important colono class was largely an eighteenth-century phenomenon, the colonos were clearly visible as a separate social category in Cachoeira by 1700. Their emergence was a function of an expanding free population of

mixed racial background which lacked the connections and resources to staff and buy or lease commercially-oriented sitios. In a slave society such persons encountered few alternatives--apart from vagabondage and banditry--to the insecure and often transient life of a subsistence farmer.

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The last half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries marked the formation of an important new socio-economic group of lavradores de tabaco which was quite distinct from and nearly as numerous as the older society of sugar growers and millers. This sector emerged in response to the steady growth of two major markets for tobacco and because a large portion of the Bahian Recôncavo long subjected to Indian attacks was finally secured for permanent settlement. The development of this region was initially guided by a handful of sesmaria or land-grant families, but they soon divided portions of their large holdings among smaller independent landowners and tenants of some substance. These landowners and tenants (who moved rather easily into the category of owner in this period) managed and staffed small estates called sitios or fazendas which occupied between 100 and 600 acres on the average and required the services of perhaps twelve slaves. Characteristically the sitio was a mixed estate devoted to food crops and cattle raising as well as to tobacco production. This enterprise was marked by a high degree of flexibility: in the selection of land, the diversification of economic activities,

the use of the labor force, and in both the processing and marketing of tobacco. This flexibility may not have made the growers wealthy but it probably made them more resilient in periodic crises than their counterparts in the sugar zone.

The tobacco boom offered new economic opportunities both to immigrants and to local people at a time when the sugar sector was no longer expanding. Because of the relatively easy terms of tenancy and the low cost of buying a sitio, the tobacco region supported and absorbed families from a wide range of backgrounds and resources including immigrant farmers, large and small merchants, military veterans and even a few pardos. The tobacco boom not only created a group of free agriculturists, it benefitted other Bahians as well. The more enterprising sugar planters invested in the production and marketing of tobacco both to diversify their own interests and to assure themselves an adequate supply of slaves. Furthermore, as we will see, the direct exchange of Cachoeira tobacco for African slaves without Portuguese intermediaries was the cornerstone of mercantile prosperity in the early eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, II, pp. 266-267. The jurisdiction of the vila of Cachoeira included the old sugar parish of Santiago de Iguape. São Bartolomeu de Maragogipe is included in this discussion because its economy resembled that of Cachoeira. Before Maragogipe was raised to the status of vila in 1724 it fell within the jurisdiction of the vila of Jaguaripe which was created in 1698. However, many of its inhabitants maintained close ties with the more accessible vila of Cachoeira, rather than the poorer, more distant vila of Jaguaripe. Memórias, V, pp. 409-414. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1724, fs. 308-310. See the map in chap. II.

2. Tobacco production and the tobacco district have yet to receive monographic treatment. Two recent works have provided important new documentation. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulencia, pp. 290-341. Antonil's detailed description of production has been extensively annotated by Mansuy. J. R. Amaral Lapa has written a very useful essay on tobacco, particularly in the late eighteenth century, and he has published two memorials from that era that describe the Cachoeira tobacco sector. "Um agricultor ilustrado do século xviii," in his Economia colonial, pp. 141-229, including two appendices.

3. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 107.

4. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 107-108, note 1. Pinheiro da Silva, "A capitania da Baía," pp. 196-201.

5. "Descripción de la província del Brasil," pp. 4-5. Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, pp. 371-372. João Peixoto Viegas, "Parecer e tratado" (1687), ABNRJ, XX, 213-223.

6. Antonil reported normal annual exports to Portugal to be 25,000 rolls or more of eight arrobas each. Estimated export figures reported in official correspondence in selected years are:

1699	28,258 rolls
1706	29,683 "
1707-1708	50,839 "
1709-1710	45,000 "
1725	18-20,000
1726	27,000 rolls left with fleet, and 5-6,000 remained
1727	20,000 rolls
1730	20,000 "
1736	25,000 "

Sources: Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 324-325 and note 10. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, docs. 600-602, 1710, fs. 248v-252. Vol. 19, doc. 11, 1725, fs. 8-9. Vol. 20, 1726, fs. 286-286v. Vol. 21, doc. 197, 1727. Vol. 22, doc. 43, 1725. Vol. 26, doc. 83, 1730, f. 300. Vol. 32, doc. 121, 1736.

7. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 316-318.

8. For the development of this trading cycle see: Pierre Verger, Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de todos os Santos du xvii^{e} au xix^{e} siècle (Paris, 1963), esp. chaps I-IV.

9. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 13, doc. 57, 1711; doc. 57a, 1712; doc. 62, 1713. Vol. 22, doc. 55c, 1726. Caldas, Notícia geral, p. 440.

10. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 440-441. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 326. For the contraband trade see below and Antonil, pp. 334-341.

11. For production growth see: Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 439-443. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado do século xviii," Appendix 1: "Memória..." (1788), p. 212 and Appendix 2: "Manufatura do tabaco" (1788), p. 216. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, III, 199-207. Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, 197-200. For two periods of crisis see: APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 23, doc. 124, 1728. Vol. 25, doc. 19, 1726. Vol. 32, doc. 121, 1736. "Discurso preliminar..." ca. 1790, in Manuel Pinto de Aguiar, Aspectos da economia colonial (Salvador, 1957), pp. 95-194.

12. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 600, 1710, fs. 248v-249. Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1704, fs. 109v-113.

13. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 264, 1642, fs. 289-289v. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 121.1, 1670, fs. 141v-142.

14. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 2, doc. 24, 1691. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.3, 1693, fs. 159-160v. Vol. 124.4, 1698, fs. 169v-171v.

15. "da margem da qualquer rio onde chega o mar." AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1701, fs. 137-138. APB-SH: Cartas do Governo à Varias Autoridades, Vol. 149, 1701, fs. 59-59v.

16. Roberto Simonsen, História econômica do Brasil (6th ed.; São Paulo, 1969) pp. 145 ff.

17. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, II, 360-362.

18. DHBNRJ, LXXVI, 246-248.

19. For example see: Lisanti, Negócios coloniais, I, pp. cdlxxv ff.

20. For a summary and evaluation of land policy see: DHBNRJ, VI, 361-375. Costa Porto, Estudo sobre o sistem sesmarial (Recife, 1965). The large landowners and major sesmaria grants were identified from the notarial records, the summary of sesmarias in PAN, XXVII, entire, and Pinheiro da Silva, "A capitania da Baía," pp. 252-253.

21. PAN, XXVII, grant of 27 Nov. 1676, p. 62.

22. PAN, XXVII, grants and confirmations of 19 Sep. 1673 and 3 Nov. 1673, p. 53; 20 Sep. 1674, p. 58; 22 Nov. 1686, p. 82; 20 Jul. 1699, p. 112; 8 Feb. 1701, p. 116; 19 Sep. 1673, p. 54.

23. The relevant titles apparently have not survived but ample reference is made to extensive Cachoeira holdings both in the notarial records and, indirectly, in the extant sesmaria grants. See for example, PAN, XXVII, pp. 20, 24, 34, 38, 43, and passim.

24. PAN, XXVII, grants of 9 Jul. 1653 and 10 Apr. 1655. p. 13. DHBNRJ, XVIII, 348-354.

25. Members of the family figured prominently in the entradas of 1578-80, 1611, 1621, 1628-29, 1639, 1640, 1642, 1646, 1651. 1654, 1656, and the 1670's. For details see: Carvalho Franco, Dicionário de bandeirantes, pp. 9-12. Eduardo Tourinho, "Cachoeira do Paraguaçú," RIHGBa, LXXIX (1955), 222-248. Pedro Celestino da Silva, "A Cachoeira e seu município," RIHGBa, LXIII (1937), 77-89. Pinheiro da Silva, "A capitania da Baía," pp. 252-253.

26. For a biography of João Peixoto Viegas see Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. VIII.

27. DHBNRJ, XVIII, 348-354.

28. DHBNRJ, LXXII, 360-366.

29. A document of 1745 refers to the entailed fazendas of Francisco de Sá Peixoto (son of João Peixoto Viegas) in São José de Itapororocas. BNRJ-SM: Ms. II, 33, 26, 17. "Memórias e fundação do convento das Ursulinas," 1745, fs. 197v-198. Prior to the establishment of this entail (date unknown) Viegas and his wife Joanna de Sá

Peixoto divided a portion of their Cachoeira lands among their heirs. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 144v-145. Furthermore, much land was alienated by grant or sale. See below note 35. For the sake of clarity it should be noted that the terms sitio and fazenda eventually became more refined so that sitio principally designated a small agricultural holding and fazenda referred to a large ranch or estate. In this period, however, the terms were used interchangeably and applied loosely to properties of varying sizes and combinations of economic activities and in varying stages of development.

30. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 7, 1714, fs. 23v-25. We know of at least two sesmarias received by the family along the Paraguaçú river and another (to which the sale refers) in the Varzea region of Cachoeira. PAN, XXVII, grant of 26 Oct. 1673, p. 47; 11 Dec. 1681, p. 73.

31. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1716, fs. 40-40v. Costa Porto, Estudo sobre o sistema sesmarial.

32. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 13, 1698, fs. 102-103v.

33. The 285 property transactions and supplementary information were found in APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 1-42, 1664-1725. Cachoeira, Livros 1-16, 1700-1726.

34. Antonil reported that the cattle-raising sitio of the interior commonly occupied one league of land and leased for 10 milreis annually. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 478.

35. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 109v-111v, 202v-204, 229v-231. Livro 10, 1697, fs. 74v-76v. Livro 12, 1698, fs. 97v-100v. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 64-66. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 144v-145, 172-173. Livro 16, 1700, fs. 147v-148. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 54v-56, 73v-77, 80-81v, 122-123. Livro 27, 1712, fs. 82v-85v, 118v-120. Livro 29, 1713, fs. 133v-134, 196-197v. Livro 38A, 1723, fs. 221v-224. Livro 41, 1724, fs. 2-4. Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1702, fs. 124-126. Livro 3, 1704, fs. 17v-18v. Livro 4, 1709, fs. 74v-76v; 1710, fs. 166v-168. Livro 5, 1710, fs. 73-75. Livro 7, 1715, fs. 108-108v. Livro 8, 1716, fs. 33-34v; 1718, fs. 209v-218. Livro 10, 1719, fs. 73-74. Livro 11, 1719, fs. 88-90v; 1720, fs. 201v-202v. Livro 12, 1721, fs. 149-151. Livro 14, 1723, fs. 14v-15v. Livro 16, 1725, fs. 60v-62, 90v-92v.

36. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1718, fs. 213v-218.

37. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 27, 1712, fs. 84-85v. Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1718, fs. 211v-213v, 215-216v.

38. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 4, 1709, fs. 74v-76v.

39. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, 1687, fs. 62-66. DHBNRJ, IX, pp. 17, 19, 53, 75.

40. See note 22.

41. PAN, XXVII, grant and confirmation of 29 Jul. 1699 and 8 Feb. 1701, pp. 112, 116. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1705, fs. 81v-83. Livro 16, 1725, fs. 76v-78.

42. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 10, 1719, fs. 61-61v.

43. See chap. III.

44. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 12, 1721, fs. 214v-216. Livro 13, 1722, fs. 110v-112v.

45. For example see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 27, 1712, fs. 84-85v.

46. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1713, fs. 7-9. In a similar example a tobacco planter in the parish of São Gonçalo dos Campos gave his son 120 acres of land as a means of support when he entered the priesthood. He noted that his son could easily establish two sitios of 60 acres each to raise cattle and plant tobacco, manioc, and grains. Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1704, fs. 17v-18v.

47. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 13, 1698, fs. 167v-171v.

48. "Discurso preliminar," p. 96. For the average harvest see below, p. 191.

49. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 13, 1698, fs. 167v-171v. Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1702, fs. 170-171. Livro 13, 1722, fs. 110v-112v.

50. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 12, 1721, fs. 84v-86v. Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 118-121.

51. The specifics of cultivation and processing were recorded at various points during the eighteenth century. See: Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 290-341. "Discurso preliminar," pp. 95-104. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado do século xviii," 141-229 (including two memorials of 1788). Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, pp. 197 ff.

52. The 147 sitios included in this sample were selected from a larger series of transactions involving sitios in the same manner that the cane farms and mills were selected. That is, the value of land and the physical plant could be separated from the value of slaves included in the transaction. If the number of slaves was given their value was subtracted at the rate of 250 cruzados per slave--unless of course the value of slaves was itemized.

53. "Discurso preliminar," pp. 96-99. A letter written by the Recôncavo vila councils in 1751 made a clear distinction between the requirements of tobacco and sugar cultivation: The short growing season of tobacco gave its planter a free half-year or so for cultivating foodstuffs, which in turn lowered over-all costs, while sugar cultivation occupied the entire year. AMB: Cartas do Senado aos Governos das Vilas e Capitanias, Vol. 28.5, f. 26v. In 1736 the governor articulated the common belief that tobacco planters lived with fewer debts and expenses than the sugar producers. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 32, 1736, fs. 274v-275v. See also DHBNRJ, XC, consulta of 2 May 1730, pp. 214-215.

54. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 294-302. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado do século xviii," pp. 193-197. "Discurso preliminar," pp. 96-98.

55. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 312-314.

56. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 6, doc. 96, 1701. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 314-316, 334-340, 336, note 1.

57. Dampier reported that he saw only tobacco exported in rolls or as snuff. William Dampier, Dampier's Voyages, ed. by John Masefield (2 vols.; London, 1906), II, 382. In the late eighteenth century some tobacco was exported in barrels or in leaf, but most still left in rolls. The 2-3 arroba weight for African-bound rolls wasmaintained throughout the eighteenth century, but the rolls destined for Portugal became increasingly larger, weighing anywhere from 14-20 arrobas each. This factor should be taken into account in tracing the volume of production over time. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, III, 199-207. "Discurso preliminar," pp. 96, 100. Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, 199.

58. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 300-312. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado do século xviii," pp. 201-208.

59. See chap. II.

60. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 6, doc. 3, 1700. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, pp. 309-310, note 9.

61. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1722, f. 281. Ordens Régias, Vol. 17, doc. 103, 1723, fs. 273-290.

62. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 25, docs. 18, 18a, 1729. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado no século xviii," pp.201-208, 218-222.

63. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 25, doc. 18, 1729.

64. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, doc. 94, 1699.

65. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 110-111.

66. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1704, fs. 19-20v. Capital, Livro 24, 1710, fs. 5-6. For a description of the organization or production in the early twentieth century see: Rollie E. Poppino, Feira de Santana, trans. by Arquimedes Pereira Guimarães (Bahia, 1968), pp. 126 ff.

67. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 6, doc. 37a, 1697. Vol. 5, docs. 88, 88a, 88b, 88c, 1698; doc. 95, 1699.

68. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 6, doc. 77, 1701. Vol. 20, docs. 102-103, 1726, f. 281. Provisões, Vol. 272, 1702, fs. 144-144v; 1718, f. 212; 1721, f. 242. DHBNRJ, LXXII, 368-369.

69. Antonil-Mansuy, Cultura e opulência, p. 325, note 10.

70. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 17, doc. 103, 1723, fs. 273-290. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 15 Apr. 1711, p. 23.

71. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 184.

72. APB-SH: Provisoes, Vol. 272, 1717, f. 201v. Ordens Régias, Vol. 19, doc. 155, 1725.

73. DHBNRJ, XCVII, 143-146; XCVIII, 76-78. The collusion between growers and contraband traders was apparent later in the century as well. See: Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado no século xviii," pp. 219-220.

74. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1704, fs. 109v-113. Rocha Pita, História, p. 18.

75. ABNRJ, XX, letter of 15 Jul. 1680, pp. 220-223. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, II, 298-299. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 23, doc. 124, 1728.

76. Amaral Lapa, "Um agricultor ilustrado no século xviii," pp. 212, 216.

77. "Discurso preliminar," p. 96.

78. In this period Cristóvão Cavalcante e Albuquerque owned the Engenho da Barra de Paraguaçú in Maragogipe and the Engenho Má Vida in Iguape. The Aragão family owned several mills; Manuel de Araújo Aragão owned a mill on the river Arantegui and eventually acquired the Engenho da Ponta. The Adornos were mill owners during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but they seem to have withdrawn from sugar planting in the latter part of that period. Most likely their sugar interests were absorbed by the Aragão family with whom they were connected by marriage. For these marriage connections see: Jaboatão, "Catálogo," pp. 8-10.

79. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 10, doc. of 12 Jan. 1719, unnumbered.

80. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 11, 1720, fs. 109-110. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 32, docs, 49, 49a, 49b, 1734-36, fs. 178-180. Celestino da Silva, "A Cachoeira e seu município," pp. 77-94. Tourinho, "Cachoeira do Paraguaçú," pp. 221-249. The exact founding date of the settlement is unclear. Celestino da Silva wrote that João Rodrigues Adorno began attracting settlers in 1654, but João, who claimed to be about 73 years of age in 1719, would have been too young. Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 10, 1719, fs. 63v-64v. If the date is correct the official founder was more likely João's father, Gaspar Rodrigues Adorno.

81. Accioli-Amaral, Memórias, II, 266-267.

82. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1717, fs. 153v-155v. Livro 10, 1719, fs. 37v-38v. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 32, docs. 49, 49a, 49b, 1734-36, fs. 178-180.

83. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 19, doc. 38, 1725.

84. For example, a chapter of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament was established in the vila matrix. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1706, fs. 183-184. Livro 16, 1725, fs. 83-84v. For more on the commercial importance of Cachoeira in this period see chap. VI.

85. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, 1687, fs. 47-47v, 62-66. Vol. 124.4, 1698, fs. 203v-206; 1699, fs. 269v-272. DHBNRJ, LXXV, 83-84; LXXVI, 150-151.

86. Celestino da Silva, "A Cachoeira e seu município," p. 94. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 270, 1698, fs. 150v-151. Cartas do Governo

à Varias Autoridades, Vol. 149, 1703, fs. 11, 96, 111, 124. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 4, 1709, fs. 108-109v. Livro 5, 1710, fs. 44v-46v. BNRJ-SM: Ms. I, 4, 4, 95, doc. 19, letter of 2 Oct. 1728.

87. For a good sampling of correspondence between the governor and the vila councils and militia officers, outlining the duties and powers of each see: APB-SH: Cartas do Governo à Varias Autoridades, Vol, 149, 1697-1704. DHBNRJ, LXXVI, which includes the portarias for 1734-1736.

88. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 12, doc. 13, 1718.

89. ABNRJ, XX, letter of 15 Jul. 1680, pp. 220-223. The 450 lavradores were identified in both the Salvador and Cachoeira notarial registers.

90. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.4, 1695, fs. 52-54. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1705, fs. 76v-77. Livro 5, 1710, fs. 83v-85. Livro 8, 1717, fs. 152-153v.

91. Lordello: AMB: Entradas de navios, Vol. 56.1, 1700, f. 24v. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 17, doc. 103, 1723, f. 278. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1705, fs. 76v-77; 1706, fs. 176v-177. Livro 11, 1720, fs. 199-200v. Ventura: ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1693, fs. 907-908. Atas da Camara, VI, 1685, pp. 35-36. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 238-238v. Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1701, fs. 99v-100; 1702, fs. 128-130. Livro 3, 1705, fs. 76v-77.

92. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 137v-138v. Cachoeira, Livro 4, 1706, fs. 184-185. Livro 5, 1709, fs. 24-26.

93. Miranda: ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1704, f. 189. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 9, 1717, fs. 62-64. Barros: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 88-89, 97-98, 109v-111. Livro 9, 1718, fs. 139-140.

94. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 8, 1693, fs. 98v-101. Livro 19, 1702, fs. 142v-144v, 174-175v.

95. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 4, 1684, fs. 150-151.

96. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1703, fs. 178-179v. Livro 3, 1705, fs. 76v-77. Livro 5, 1709, fs. 26v-27v; 1711, fs. 135-136v. Livro 6, 1715, fs. 228v-229v. Livro 9, 1717, fs. 27v-29v.

97. There is no way of calculating how many persons of mixed racial background were--for one reason or another--no longer considered to be pardos by local standards. Nevertheless, the notarial designations--which were applied consistently to the same individuals--provide useful comparisons of pardo representation in various economic activities.

98. In other contexts the term colono was used to mean settler. The term here reflects its usage in notarial records. Later in the colonial period and during the nineteenth century the term agregado referred to essentially the same social type. See Caio Prado Júnior, The Economic Background of Modern Brazil, trans. by Suzette Macedo (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), p. 183.

99. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 13, 1721, fs. 25-26. Livro 3, 1704, fs. 70-71. Livro 6, 1713, fs. 47v-49v.

100. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 3, 1704, fs. 66-68v.

101. L. F. de Tollenare, Notas Dominicais (Bahia, 1956), pp. 85, 95-97, 326.

CHAPTER VI

THE MERCHANTS OF BAHIA

Whatever his principal function and position in society, the average free Bahian did not hesitate to fazer negocio on the side. From the governor and high court judges to widows and modest apprentices, most Bahians did some trading of one kind or another or placed their legacies and caches of specie on loan. A separate group existed, however, composed of men, and occasionally women, who engaged in some form of commerce as a principal occupation and who called themselves merchants. This group is the main subject of the present chapter. The first part defines the types of merchants who resided in the city of Salvador or the vila of Cachoeira, and offers a social profile of the community constructed from numerous biographies. The following pages describe the major forms of commercial organization as well as the activities in which merchants engaged. A final section analyzes the mobility, status, and public role of merchants in this period and evaluates the position of the mercantile community in early eighteenth-century Bahian society.[1]

One major theme developed here and elsewhere concerns the significant impact which merchants had on Bahia's social formation and economic development. The merchant has often been portrayed as a necessary but parasitical element in colonial society; a foreign agent who drew profits out of Brazil and did little to enhance its

internal development.[2] While the over-all negative balance sheet produced by a dependent, colonial economy cannot be denied, the view of the merchant as outsider and exploiter is one-dimensional. As this study shows, immigrant merchants married, settled permanently, and invested their commercial profits in Brazil on a fairly regular basis.

It is in the context of expanding opportunities that the generation of merchants operating in the early eighteenth century must be viewed. Merchant mobility in this period was closely tied to two concurrent developments. The first was the growth of the Mina Coast trade, based on the direct exchange of Bahian tobacco for African slaves. Unlike traditional trading circuits, the Mina Coast trade was financed and controlled by Bahian-based merchants to the exclusion of peninsular intermediaries. The same period marked the beginning of the lucrative trade to the gold mines of the interior of Brazil. Bahian merchants had always distributed imported merchandise and coastal products in the sertão, but the discovery of gold created instant cash markets to be exploited. The two trading systems were closely related since the mining centers constituted a prime market for the black cargoes from the Mina Coast, and they provided gold for the extensive contraband trade conducted on the west coast of Africa. The highly visible social and economic advances of individuals, the entry of increasing numbers of merchants into the governing elite, and the growing cohesiveness of the business sector, all described below, were linked directly to the Mina Coast trade and the opening of the mines.

The undeniable vitality of the mercantile community in the early eighteenth century, it is argued, must be understood in terms of continuity rather than in terms of fundamental change. The social and political advances of merchants in the eighteenth century, although sometimes interpreted as a departure from the past, had clear precedents in the seventeenth century.[3] As David Smith's recent dissertation demonstrates, public offices, membership in prestigious sodalities, and other sources of status and power had all been within reach of the richest merchants throughout the seventeenth century.[4]

Merchant Types, Origins, and Marriage Patterns

The broad category of merchant embraced people whose interests and social positions varied widely. A rich vocabulary distinguished among types, but it was sometimes vaguely employed because merchants favored diversification rather than specialization, and because movement between categories was frequent and rapid. This descriptive terminology reflected different types of economic activity such as financing, import-export trading, retailing, and peddling, but the size of investments and the extent of operations figured here too. The degree of personal involvement in trade mattered, and an important distinction was made between men who personally sold goods over the counter or on the road, and those who did not; between those who negotiated through intermediaries and those who primarily served as agents of others. For purposes of clarity we can define ideal merchant types, keeping in mind that boundaries were fluid and individual merchants often elude neat categorization.

In contemporary documents the word mercador referred to merchants of almost any kind, excepting the most humble.[5] Homem de negocio, translated businessman, more specifically designated a man of capital who was engaged in one or more phases of the Atlantic trade. Later in the eighteenth century these large merchants acquired an official status by registering with the Board of Trade; enrollment indicated possession of a certain amount of capital investments and the meeting of specified professional standards. The homem de negocio of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the same type of person. Typically the businessmen invested in a wide range of economic ventures. Apart from their investments in the export-import trade, they played a major role in the internal distribution trade; they owned docks and warehouses in the lower city, invested in urban real estate and in shipping, purchased shares in the large tax contracts, and provided cash and credit for agriculturists, small merchants, artisans, and homeowners. They sometimes invested in agriculture, producing their own tobacco, sugar, and cane brandy for export. The investment of commercial capital in the productive lands of the Recôncavo or in the more remote and partially developed areas of the interior had social overtones that might indicate a conscious move from commerce to join the established landed elite.[6]

Often the homens de negocio engaged in retail trade in shops located in the lower city where their assistants sold wine, cloth, and other imports to the public. But a social distinction was made between these businessmen and those merchants for whom retailing was

their major occupation. The latter, called mercadores de loja aberta, or shopkeepers, sold merchandise over the counter. Although a large retail trade might prove as lucrative as other business enterprises, the man tagged mercador de loja ranked lower socially than the homem de negocio. The most graphic expression of this distinction may be found in the membership rolls of Bahia's Santa Casa da Misericórdia, where shopkeepers invariably entered as members of minor standing, while the homens de negocio enrolled with major status.[7] In other ways too this social distinction operated. Homens de negocio were accepted as spokesmen of the business community in general; they married into the established landed elite on a selective basis, and they found many offices and titles accessible. The shopkeeper accomplished these things only when he became sufficiently disassociated from the mundane tasks of retailing--the weighing and measuring and so forth--and was accepted as a man of capital with wider interests.

A smaller version of the mercador de loja was the vendeiro or taverneiro, roughly a grocer or tavernkeeper (sometimes the two were combined). These merchants managed the city's humbler retail establishments, dispensing food products, odds and ends, and spirits--imported wine, aguardente do reino (imported wine brandy), and aguardente da terra (locally-produced cane brandy).[8]

Attached in one way or another to the businessmen and shopkeepers was a somewhat amorphous group of clerks, accountants, and agents. By definition these junior members of the mercantile community worked for someone else, but they usually developed their own

interests as soon as possible. The caixeiro was a shop assistant or bookkeeper hired by a merchant to tend the store--if there was one--to keep accounts, and to learn the trade. For a young man aspiring to be a businessman, an apprenticeship of this sort was the first stage of his mercantile career. The term caixeiro also applied to the treasurer or accountant of a commercial company, even though the caixeiro in this case was himself a businessman and partner.[9]

The comissário acted as an agent, negotiating on behalf of another merchant for a commission. Although the term existed in the current vocabulary, the comissários seldom referred to themselves as such in contracts registered in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Instead, when providing occupational status, they stated that they lived by their business ("que vive de seu negocio"). Some resided in Bahia and represented merchants of Portugal; others, the agents of Bahians, spent part of their time in the city and part of it traveling, taking goods on consignment to Portugal and Africa, or, in the other direction, to the interior of Brazil. The function of comissário was often performed by men of the sea--ship captains, pilots, and shipmasters. While exercising their nautical professions, these men took goods on consignment, acted as general agents, and often developed their own business interests as well, by buying part of the vessel navigated and carrying goods on their own account.[10] The transience characteristic of many comissários, who were sometimes referred to collectively as the "homens da frota" (the men of the fleet), made them a suspicious element in the eyes of

Bahian citizens.[11] Nevertheless, it was typical of the fluid nature of mercantile society that almost anyone, from wealthy businessman to pack trader, might assume for a time the function of comissário and serve as the commercial agent of someone else.

A final type of merchant was the peripatetic trader. Itinerants shared, of course, a common characteristic in their mobility. Beyond that they differed according to where they worked, the strength of their ties with the city, and the types of goods they handled. The largest among itinerants were the pack traders who sold imported goods, baubles, livestock, spirits and slaves for high prices in the interior.[12] Such men had little in common with the street vendors who eked out a hand-to-mouth existence selling bits of prepared food, fruit, and trinkets on the city streets. Itinerants were an obvious necessity in remote areas, but the small peddlers who roamed the city streets were a constant irritation to established retailers and to local officials. The Salvador shopkeepers viewed them suspiciously as unnecessary competition and the aldermen and market inspectors found them difficult to regulate and tax. Like established retailers, the itinerants working close to the city were subject to municipal ordinances requiring operating licenses, the use of standard weights and measures, adherence to official price scales, and payment of taxes. The mobile peddlers easily flaunted such controls, however, and on at least one occasion the camara attempted to force them to set up shops (lojas) in suburban parishes so that they could be regulated. The proposition was completely untenable for men who depended on their mobility for a living, and

proved unenforceable.[13]

The difficult-to-translate and somewhat pejorative terms mascate, regateiro, and canastreiro were applied to these peddlers, or they were simply called volantes (itinerants) by their contemporaries.[14] In public contracts, however, they described themselves as persons who "lived by selling," "lived by selling on the Recôncavo," or "lived by pack trading."[15] The use of terminology here is similar to that described for agents. The choice of words may indicate a reluctance to employ terms, particularly mascate and canastreiro, which were socially degrading, suggesting mean employment, transience, and jewry. Too, the expressions "living by selling" or "living by one's business," for all their vagueness, well-described the numerous small merchants who combined activities--the artisan/agent, mariner/trader, or pack trader/agent, for example.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the mercantile community of Bahia, since no contemporary census with occupational breakdowns exists, and the usual hazards of guessing are further complicated by the high degree of transience among merchants. The composition of the group constantly changed with the coming and going of comissários and other itinerants, the arrival of new immigrants, and the departure of men who resided in Bahia five or ten years before returning permanently to Portugal. However, an estimate for a later period at least offers a range for the upper levels of commerce. In the 1750's the engineer José Antônio Caldas compiled a roll of 125 merchants which included homens de negocio, mercadores de loja, and resident

comissários. The list excluded caixeiros, the small shopkeepers (vendeiros), and the itinerant agents and traders.[16] Accepting the 1755 figure as an approximate census of businessmen, large retailers, and resident agents for the earlier part of the century as well, we can add one caixeiro per merchant, making a total of 250. Finally, to compute the quantity of resident vendeiros, we can refer to a document of 1718 which was signed by 76 such persons. It dealt with a local matter of some importance to these people and it is probable that many of the tavernkeepers and small storekeepers signed the petition; we will make allowances, however, and estimate the number of vendeiros at 200.[17] The resident mercantile community of Salvador can be roughly estimated, then, at 450 persons. The itinerants of all kinds, the men who "lived by their business," on the sea, on the Recôncavo, or in the interior are impossible to count, but they must have numbered in the hundreds. Even this speculative calculation permits one important conclusion: The number of merchants actually residing in Salvador on a moreorless permanent basis was not very large, and the mercantile elite--the men of capital, property, and influence--comprised an even smaller group, no doubt numbering less than a hundred in a total population of approximately 6000 households.

Contemporary observers commented on the dominance of trade by Portuguese immigrants, the reinóis, or men from the realm, and the figures in Table 16 strongly support these casual observations. Only occasionally is it possible to trace merchant families in which native-

TABLE 16

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF RESIDENT BAHIAN MERCHANTS*
(n=132)

Portugal		110	83%
Lisbon		9	7%
Entre Douro e Minho		80	61%
Viana do Castelo	31		
Porto	22		
Braga	11		
Guimarães	8		
Ponte de Lima	6		
Barcelos	1		
Rifana de Sousa	1		
Beira		3	
Alentejo		2	
Algarve		1	
Trás os Montes		1	
Estremadura		1	
Unspecified		13	
Atlantic Islands		5	4%
Other European		9	7%
Brazil		8	6%
Bahia	7		
Rio de Janeiro	1		
Total		132	100%

*Includes homens de negocio, mercadores de loja, and a few resident men "que vivem de seu negocio."

Sources: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 1-42. Cachoeira, Livros 1-16. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vols. 439-440. Provisões, Vol. 276. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vols. 124.1-124.7. Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2 (1663-1695); Livro 3 (1696-1733). Jaboatão, "Catálogo," entire.

born sons followed their fathers into commerce. The Bahian Antônio de Sousa Lisboa did so, but most of his colleagues were immigrants.[18] Of 132 resident merchants whose backgrounds have been determined, 110 individuals, or fully 83%, emigrated from Portugal.[19]

Among Portuguese immigrants, the most important place of origin was the northern province of Entre Douro e Minho, the home of 80 men and 61% of the entire sample group. Of these 80 persons, 31 came from the seaside village of Viana do Castello, 22 from Porto, 11 from Braga, and the remainder from Guimarães, Ponte de Lima, Barcelos, and Rifana de Sousa. The city of Lisbon supplied nine merchants, or 7% of the total, and another five men (4%) came from the Atlantic islands--still a source of newcomers but perhaps not as important as they once had been. Only eight merchants in the sample were native Brazilians, an indication of the reluctance or inability of the native born to choose commerce as a principal occupation. If the sample can be trusted as representative of the mercantile population, more European foreigners (nine, or 7%) engaged in commerce in Bahia than native sons.

The domination of trade by men from the realm resulted naturally from Brazil's position as a colonial dependency of Portugal. It is well known that the bulk of Brazilian exports was channeled to European markets through Portuguese ports, while European products reached Brazil through the agency of Portuguese merchants. These intermediaries, or the foreign firms which they represented, provided much of the financing of the Brazil trade, largely (though not entirely)

controlled shipping, and bid for the large monopoly contracts in Lisbon. They logically named their agents and correspondents, residing in or headed for Brazil, from among their Iberian contacts. The resulting steady stream of emigrant merchants from Portugal was reinforced, however, by certain policies and social processes at work within Brazil, or at least in Bahia.

Even those merchants who settled permanently in Bahia and who developed economic interests which were less dependent on Portuguese financing and connections, such as the Mina Coast trade and local tax farms, usually chose their successors from among other Portuguese immigrants. The Marquis de Lavradio wrote of this procedure later in the century: "immigrants from the realm are concerned to make themselves the lords of commerce in this land, and they will in no wise allow the sons of the land to become cashiers or sales clerks for fear they may some day become established on their own, and thus they have taken all the trade to themselves." [20]

Not only in naming their caixeiros, but in the appointment of procuradores, agents, partners, or executors of their estates, the merchants tended to favor other immigrants, most of whom shared a common regional background or a tie of kinship. Numerous examples attest to this process in which one successful immigrant merchant sponsored another immigrant as a protégé. The businessman Nicolao Lopes Fiuza brought his agent and younger brother João to Bahia where the elder's established contacts and interests paved the way for João Lopes Fiuza's success as a merchant and senhor de engenho, a story out-

lined in another chapter.[21] Another merchant, João da Costa Guimarães, who began as a stonemason, named his immigrant nephew, Ignacio Teixeira Rangel, procurador on numerous occasions and finally heir and executor of his estate. Rangel also began as a stonemason, but became a businessman with diversified interests after his uncle's death.[22] In a final example, a wine merchant from Madeira named Domingos Martins Pereira was probably responsible for bringing his cousin Domingos Escorcio, a shipmaster from Madeira, to Bahia permanently. The two men invested in land together and Escorcio was named executor of Pereira's estate before going on to become an homem de negocio in his own right.[23]

Another process, obviously a corollary of the first, brought about the transference of commerce from one generation of immigrants to another. At the same time they provided business opportunities for young immigrants, the merchants directed their own sons away from commerce as a principal occupation. The large, successful businessmen--precisely those persons most capable of founding mercantile dynasties--chose instead to establish their sons on the Recôncavo as planters. The two sons of businessman and mill owner Manuel Mendes Monforte became mill owners, as did the son of the Domingos Martins Pereira mentioned above.[24] Alternatively, sons were channeled into the professions to become lawyers or priests. Merchants like João Pinto Brandão, João Lopes Araújo, and Manuel Alves Seixas established their sons in the priesthood with comfortable patrimonies, while Pasqual Marques de Almeida, among others, educated his sons in the law at Coimbra.[25]

If a family remained visibly established in commerce over two or more generations, it was usually through the female line. Thus Manuel Soares Ferreira, whose two sons never engaged in commerce as a career, if at all, married two of his daughters to Felipe Rodrigues Lima and Sebastião Carvalho dos Santos, two very active immigrant homens de negocio in the early eighteenth century.[26] The transfer of business interests through marriageable daughters permitted the merchant father to choose his successor according to demonstrated capability, current and useful connections in Portugal, and any number of qualities he could only hope for in his own sons. And, of course, the directing of sons away from commercial careers represented a very visible sign of social mobility for the family.

It is not reasonable to suppose that the sons of merchants invariably pursued non-commercial careers. The phenomenon of generational change is only suggested as a trend--one which occurred most frequently among the commercial elite who could afford the alternatives. The fate of the off-spring of more modest immigrant pack traders and vendeiros, whose family histories are more difficult to compile, is less easily determined. We can only guess, but some undoubtedly followed their fathers in some humble commercial pursuit. Others may have become mariners, obtained apprenticeships with relatives in Portugal or elsewhere in Brazil, or migrated to the mines.

David Smith's study of seventeenth-century merchants and the observation of the Marquis de Lavradio cited above indicate that the domination of commerce by immigrants was a long-term phenomenon.[27]

The selection of agents and successors from among the reinóis and the preference for non-commercial careers for the native-born sons of merchants offer some explanation of how this monopoly was maintained. It is not clear, however, at least in the period studied here, whether or not Bahians in general contributed to this monopoly by their own reluctance to enter commerce as a full-time career.

The typical merchant, an immigrant, arrived in Bahia as a bachelor and married a woman born in the city of Salvador, the Recôncavo or, occasionally, some other part of the captaincy. A few brought their wives with them from Portugal, or named proxies to marry women residing in their home towns, but most merchants who took up long-term or permanent residence in Bahia chose to tie themselves to Brazil through matrimony. The marital status of 132 resident merchants whose origins were presented above is shown in Table 17. Of the total, 116 are known to have married, and at least 89 men, representing 76.7% of those who wed and 67.4% of the entire group of 132, took Bahian women as brides. Put another way, of those 101 merchants whose wives' origins could be determined 88% married Bahian women. This constituted one of the most important processes in the formation of free Bahian society: the migration of a male, mercantile population that married and founded families in Brazil.

It has not been possible to trace the backgrounds of all the wives of the merchants in the sample, but enough information is available to permit some generalizations. Often the merchants wed women who were daughters of other male immigrants who had also married

TABLE 17

MARITAL STATUS OF 132 RESIDENT MERCHANTS

Known to have married			116	87.9%
Origin of wife known	101	(100.0%)		
Portugal	12	(12.0%)	12	
Bahia	89	(88.0%)	89	(67.4%)
Origin of wife unknown			15	
No reference to wife encountered			16	12.1%
Total			132	100.0%

Source: See source note for Table 16.

Bahians. In one case the mercador de loja Manuel Correia Bandeira, an immigrant from Viana, married Teresa de Jesus, whose father had emigrated from Lisbon and married Bahian-born Inés Freire.[28] Furthermore, merchants married women from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. Table 18, which lists the origins of 56 wives by father's occupation, shows that merchants intermarried with families representing the major free socio-economic groups present in Bahia. Considering the resident merchants as a group--one that included retailers as well as businessmen--marriages of all kinds took place. For example, the storekeeper João Antunes Branco, from Porto, married the orphan Luísa Antunes. After Branco died, Luísa became the wife of Domingos da Silva Pinto, another shopkeeper from Porto.[29] A businessman from the same city named André Marques wed the daughter of a Bahian goldsmith, and so forth.[30] In what was perhaps a typical arrangement, the merchant Domingos da

Costa Braga received a dowry promise of 3000 cruzados on marrying Rosária de Oliveira, the daughter of a prosperous coppersmith who also owned a small farm. Braga received 1250 cruzados in gold, silver, slaves and personal effects and agreed to accept the remaining amount in yearly payments.[31]

TABLE 18

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF WIVES OF MERCHANTS
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
(n=56)

Merchant	18
Businessman*	16
Small merchant	2
Planter	22
Mill owner	4
Cane grower	8
Tobacco grower	8
Manioc grower	2
Cattleman	2
Professional	5
Military	3
Lawyer	1
Notary	1
Artisan	9
Total	56

*This category includes businessmen who had also acquired sugar and landed interests.

Source: See the source note for Table 16.

Significantly, the figures in Table 18 demonstrate that although merchants contracted marriages of various sorts, a high proportion of merchants married directly into established mercantile and propertied families. Sixteen men married the daughters of businessmen--some of whom had acquired sugar and landed interests--while another twenty married the daughters of mill owners, cane growers, and tobacco planters. Well over half of the merchants' fathers-in-law functioned as large merchants or agriculturists of some substance and the figures suggest that merchants were just as likely to marry the daughters of agriculturists as they were to marry the daughters of other merchants. Such unions permitted the consolidation of capital and property and introduced the newcomer into existing family networks.

Since so many factors contrived to keep the upper levels of commerce largely in the hands of immigrants, it is hardly surprising that few persons of mixed racial background became merchants of consequence on the coast. I found no individual openly considered to be non-white who became an homem de negocio or mercador de loja in the city, but there are scattered references to pardos who "lived by their business," and who were most likely peddlers.[32] Judging from Vilhena's observations at the close of the eighteenth century, blacks, and particularly black women, pursued the most humble of commercial activities, street-vending, either working independently or in the service of established merchants.[33]

Women in general engaged in commerce most actively at the lower levels, and they did so in the city and smaller settlements rather

than undertaking the more strenuous and dangerous itinerant trade on the Recôncavo or to the interior. The sale of food was a logical extension of food preparation, a normal female activity, so that women appear in the records as bakers and street vendors. Or, widowed, they took over their husbands' positions as grocers and tavernkeepers since they could not afford to hire male replacements. Of seventy-six vendeiros who signed a petition in 1718, seven were women. One woman, Isabel Pereira, lived by selling on the docks in the lower city of Salvador. Another woman, Elena Ferreira, peddled contraband meat in the city, at least until she was apprehended and threatened with expulsion from the captaincy. Elena worked with her husband António, who owned a small raft (saveiro) on which he transported illegally butchered and untaxed meat to Salvador from the Recôncavo.[34]

The presence of females in the meaner spheres of commerce contrasts with their near absence among large shopkeepers and business persons in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While women engaged in marginal commercial activities out of economic necessity, in what was perhaps their only alternative to prostitution, women of means, the widows of larger merhcants, engaged in commerce only indirectly. They borrowed money and placed cash on loan, but it would be difficult to say that they actually managed inherited interests with any frequency. More often, like the heiresses of agricultural estates, they turned the administration of affairs over to male agents, usually relatives and partners of the deceased. At the death of the wealthy businessman and contractor Cristóvão Barbosa Vilas Boas, for example, his

wife, as heiress and executrix of his estate, transferred full business powers, and particualrly the administration of a recently purchased tax farm, to her husband's caixeiro, Antônio Gonsalves da Rocha. She also named her son-in-law, her brother-in-law, and a business associate of the deceased as principal procuradores.[35]

To complete this profile of the merchants of Bahia, the presence of foreigners in the business community should be noted. As a concession granted in various European treaties of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese crown permitted the Dutch and English four commercial houses each in Salvador, designated by their respective consular missions in Portugal. Other foreign merchants were prohibited from residing in Bahia even temporarily without a special license from Lisbon. However, repeated complaints of lax enforcement and the regular appearance of French, German, and Italian as well as Dutch and English merchants in local documents attest to the existence of a small active community of foreign traders in the city.[36] Francis Cock, John Dowker, and George Lapie were three of the Englishmen licensed to reside and trade in Bahia. Dowker and Cock owned shares of ships in conjunction with several Portuguese merchants residing in Bahia and they corresponded with the firm of Nathaniel Bradley in Lisbon. There is ample evidence that the same men were heavily involved in the contraband trade flourishing off the west coast of Africa.[37]

The long-term foreign residents maintained reasonably good relations with Bahian merchants, in part because they comprised a small enough group to be absorbed by the larger community. They associated

with Bahian businessmen in various enterprises, sometimes married Portuguese women, and gained enough acceptance to be admitted to local lay brotherhoods. The German businessman Duarte de Braque, to name just one example, resided in Bahia for many years. He corresponded with the firm of Henrique and Jacob Vonzeller of Lisbon, was a shipowner and partner of several prominent Bahian merchants, including João Lopes Fiuza and Manuel Mendes Monforte. He married a Portuguese woman and was admitted to the cathedral chapter of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament, where he served as scribe in 1700.[38]

In summary, the merchants of Bahia included persons whose activities and interests varied in magnitude and substance, ranging from big businessmen with diversified interests to petty street vendors. The upper levels of commercial society, that is, the homens de negocio, mercadores de loja, and their agents and assistants were typically male Portuguese immigrants who married Bahian women from a variety of social backgrounds. A significant proportion intermarried with the region's larger established merchants and agriculturists of some substance. Women, blacks, and persons of mixed ethnic background who engaged in commerce remained in the more marginal spheres of trade.

Mercantile Activities

The export-import trade was the lifeblood of Bahian commerce. In a good year Bahians dispatched approximately 500,000 arrobas of sugar, 160,000-240,000 arrobas of high-grade tobacco as well as hides and gold

to their correspondents in Portugal. In return they received food staples, wine and other beverages, textiles and manufactured goods. Bahia's exports supplied a wide European market but they were channeled through the ports of Lisbon, Porto, and Viana; in this period the importance of Lisbon as a point of entry far exceeded that of her sister ports.[39] In addition, businessmen re-exported textiles and sent locally produced low-grade tobacco and cane brandy to the Mina Coast to be traded for slaves. They also participated, although to a diminished extent by the eighteenth century, in a two-way or triangular slave trade between Angola, Bahia, and Portugal. Through their agents Bahian merchants played a key part in the distribution of both imported and local commodities to other coastal settlements, to the Recôncavo, and to the interior. And, apart from trading through legal channels, many businessmen took advantage of the contraband trade in gold, tobacco, sugar, and European goods wherever circumstances permitted. The occasional arrival of foreign vessels or Portuguese ships from the Orient and the difficulties of regulating either the trading routes to the interior or the international traffic off the Mina Coast provided ample opportunities for the clandestine exchange of goods.[40]

Bahia's resident businessmen were typically both importers and exporters. Rather than specializing too heavily in one trading circuit or product, the export-import merchant shifted his interests to accommodate changing marketing conditions. To achieve this flexibility he maintained a web of commercial contacts that often spanned three continents. The letters of proxy which merchants invariably

registered at one time or another with city notaries attest to these widespread connections. To cite two of countless examples, businessman Manuel Gonsalves Viana empowered procuradores residing in Bahia, Rio, Santos, Lisbon, Porto, and Angola to buy and sell goods on his behalf, while homem de negocio Nicolao Lopes Fiuza had correspondents in Pernambuco, Alagoas, Rio, Santos, Viana, Porto, Lisbon, Angola, and the isle of São Tomé.[41] Other commonly cited points of correspondence were the trading centers along the São Francisco river in the interior of Brazil, the mining centers, Sergipe del Rey, and Ilhéus. These informal networks, which often originated in common regional background and ties of kinship, connected suppliers and distributors who kept one another apprised of changing business climates and enabled them to transact business as conditions warranted.[42]

Merchants relied on two basic commercial arrangements to conduct their business. They traded on a simple consignment basis (carregação) and through partnerships (sociedades or companhias) involving two or more persons. In one type of carregação the merchant consigned specific goods to a carrier--an itinerant comissário, pack trader, or ship captain--to be delivered to a correspondent who then took charge of disposing of the goods. Both the carrier and the correspondent received a commission and the correspondent commonly remitted the proceeds of the sale in other commodities. Alternatively the correspondent was eliminated and the carregação empowered the carrier himself to sell the goods for a share of the profits. The sociedades or companhias were partnerships in which two or more persons pooled their

capital, skills, and labor to engage in some form of commerce. The arrangement might last months or years and could be dissolved at any time. Bahian merchants worked on a consignment basis or formed partnerships in pursuing most of their commercial activities, adapting the form to the special conditions of the enterprise. The examples below describe the operation of these commercial arrangements in the export-import and distribution trades.

One contract exemplifies the way in which the export-import trade between Bahian and Portugal was organized. In 1708, Antônio Maciel Teixeira, Domingos Lima de Miranda, and Jeronimo Lobo Guimarães formed a sociedade e companhia with the considerable sum of 40,000 cruzados, to be invested in the "most convenient" items of exchange between Lisbon and Bahia. Antônio Maciel Teixeira contributed half of the total investment, 20,000 cruzados, and the others each contributed 10,000 cruzados. As senior partner, or socio, Teixeira's role was mainly that of financier, while his two partners were directly responsible for the work of the company. Guimarães, based in Lisbon, served as one treasurer of the organization and received the customary commission for selecting and dispatching goods to the Bahian partner, Miranda. The latter was also designated a treasurer and received a commission for remitting Bahian products to Lisbon.

The 1708 contract specified that the principal and earnings would be divided, proportional to investments, among Teixeira, Guimaraes, and Miranda within six months. But the life of the company was extended at least four years, an indication, perhaps, of its success-

ful operation. In 1712 the senior member, Teixeira, died, leaving his interest in the sociedade to his nephew, Dr. João Barbosa Teixeira Maciel, the recently appointed ouvidor of the district of Bahia. In a good example of the discreet participation of judges and other officials in commerce, the younger Teixeira empowered Domingos Lima de Miranda to handle his interest in the company indefinitely.[43]

In this as in other partnerships the selection of trading commodities was left to the discretion of each resident buyer. Buying decisions were affected by a variety of local and external factors, but exporters necessarily relied heavily on rumors and delayed market and price reports from their correspondents abroad. Thus in 1700, word of exceptionally abundant harvests in Barbados and in other parts of Brazil made merchants reluctant to buy Bahian sugar except at very low prices. Reports of large stockpiles in Lisbon produced the same cautious attitude in 1708. In contrast, the small Bahian harvest in 1723, a year of drought and labor shortages, prompted some businessmen to illegally pay far more than the officially-established price for sugar in order to fill their cargoes.[44]

Although Bahian tobacco and sugar planters normally sold their produce to Salvador merchants such as Antônio Maciel Teixeira and Domingos Lima de Miranda, occasionally producers exported their tobacco and sugar to Portugal on their own account and risk. With hopes for higher profits, they eliminated the Bahian middlemen and took their chances trading on the Lisbon market. There is no way of knowing how often this was done but it may be assumed that at least the merchant-

planters, that is the men who not only owned their own sugar mills, cane farms, and tobacco farms, but who also maintained a current network of commercial contacts abroad, did so on a regular basis.[45]

Typical businessmen with diversified interests, all three men who formed the 1708 partnership were, or eventually became, tax farmers and slave traders. Of the three, Antônio Maciel Teixeira was the most firmly established, socially and economically, in the city of Salvador. He loaned large sums of money to several Bahian sugar mill owners. He lived in a stone sobrado in the lower city, was a knight of the Order of Christ, and had served both as a city councilman and as president of the influential Santa Casa. Jeronimo Lobo Guimarães, another knight, was in and out of Bahia in the early eighteenth century, but he resided in Lisbon most of the time. The promising commercial career of Domingos Lima de Miranda was interrupted in 1714 when he disappeared into the interior after having been found guilty of his wife's murder.[46]

Three homens de negocio organized a slightly different type of trading company in 1664 to engage in a triangular exchange of goods between Lisbon, Angola and Bahia. Francisco Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Sebastião Duarte, and Francisco da Rocha Fagundes formed a partnership with an initial capital investment of 6000 cruzados contributed in equal shares of 2000 cruzados. Vasconcellos had just arrived from Angola and was on the point of departing for Lisbon, where he would reside and manage the Portuguese end of the enterprise. Fagundes, on the other hand, resided in Angola, and had empowered Sebastião Duarte to act on his behalf in the formation of the partnership. Duarte, an immigrant

from Torres Vedras, had settled permanently in Bahia, where he was a tax farmer as well as an import-export merchant. He became a captain in the militia and a prominent member of at least two brotherhoods, and he married two of his daughters to senhores de engenho before his death in the 1690's.[47]

Vasconcellos, the Lisbon connection, was named treasurer of the company, and took possession of all funds. Once in Lisbon, he would use his judgment in selecting those goods which could be traded most profitably in Angola and remit them to Fagundes. The latter would then dispatch slaves, ivory, gold, silver or letters of credit to Sebastião Duarte in Bahia, to be negotiated "in the most beneficial manner." Presumably Duarte purchased sugar, tobacco, and hides when and if the conditions were advantageous. He would send his cargo to Vasconcellos, and the cycle would begin again. Each party received a commission proportional to his responsibilities. Vasconcellos, as treasurer, claimed the largest commission of 10%, while Fagundes received 8%, and Duarte 6%. Apparently Fagundes received more than Duarte because he was responsible for provisioning the slaves exported from Angola. The life of the companhia was to be six years, and at the expiration of the contract or the death of one partner, whichever came first, the principal and earnings (minus the annual commissions) would be divided into three equal shares.[48]

While partnerships such as the two described above well served the two-way or triangular trade conducted between Bahia, Portugal, and Angola, the Mina Coast trade was organized somewhat differently.

Angola remained an important source of slave imports until the end of the slave trade, but in the eighteenth century most cargoes originating in Angola were channeled through Brazil's southern ports.[49] The letters of proxy made in Bahia for agents in Rio and Angola indicate that Bahian merchants continued to participate in the Angola trade; however, beginning in the 1690's slaves entering the port of Bahia came predominantly from the Dutch-controlled Mina Coast (Dahomey), whose trading center was the Castle of São Jorge de Mina. Textiles and locally produced cane brandy were traded for slaves in the Mina Coast circuit, but, it will be remembered from the previous chapter, the crucial item of exchange was the inferior grade of tobacco grown principally in the district of Cachoeira on the Bahian Recôncavo. In the seventeenth century the Dutch had opened four ports on the coast to Portuguese ships--Grand Popo, Whydah, Jaquin, and Apa--in order to obtain tobacco for their own commerce. They extracted a tribute of 10%, to be paid in kind, and permitted the Portuguese to trade for slaves unhampered, as long as the latter did not introduce European goods into the bartering. The Portuguese government initially restricted tobacco exports, but in 1713 the quota was removed and by 1726 Bahians annually exported around 20,000 rolls of low-quality tobacco to the Mina Coast. This amount increased during the eighteenth century.[50]

In the 1690's the crown authorized the annual licensing of twenty-four ships to trade between Salvador and the Mina Coast. In some years the departing vessels numbered less than the quota, while in a few years special licenses permitted shippers to exceed the limit.

Unlike the ships bound for Europe, which sailed in a fleet, the slaving vessels departed Bahia in twos or threes each month. This system made the slavers highly vulnerable to attacks from pirates who infested the African coast, and the crown cited this vulnerability in attempts to organize the trade under a convoy system. The Bahian merchants insisted, however, that they could obtain good trading conditions only by spacing their voyages.[51]

The trade was organized through partnerships (sociedades) based on ship ownership. The slaving vessel Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, for example, which sailed yearly and sometimes twice yearly to the Costa da Mina in the early eighteenth century, belonged to a sociedade composed of four Bahian merchants: Rafael Gomes de Abreu, Manuel Mendes Monforte, Domingos Lopes dos Santos, and João de Abreu Soares. Abreu and Monforte each owned a 1/6 interest and Santos and Soares held shares of 1/3. Normally the partners in such ventures dispatched both their ship and its cargo at their own risk and each partner was responsible for providing the cargo in proportion to his interest in the vessel.[52]

Since the Portuguese did not maintain a sizable resident community of correspondents in this Dutch-controlled trading zone, the ship captains and shipmasters assumed primary roles in the African trading negotiations. The ship owners consigned their Bahian cargoes to the captian of their vessel in a carregação and left the selection of slaves up to him. In 1698, for example, two prominent merchants, João Verdoa and Manuel Soares Ferreira, consigned a large cargo of to-

bacco, cane brandy, and textiles worth 15,432 cruzados to Manuel Gonsalves Lisboa, the captain of their chanteia Nossa Senhora e Boa Hora. They left it to his "good judgment" to trade their cargo for slaves. Since the dependability and acumen of these men of the sea was essential to the success of slaving ventures, merchants felt it wise to permit the ship captain to hold a share in the vessel he navigated or its cargo.[53]

As Pierre Verger has pointed out, the direct trade between Bahia and the Mina Coast was concentrated in the hands of merchants residing in Salvador. Peninsular businessmen chafed at their exclusion from this lucrative commerce, and the crown reacted ambivalently. Portuguese officials were well aware of the need for Mina Coast slaves to meet the spiraling demand in Brazil, but they were also irritated at the growing contraband trade and the loss of revenue to the Dutch. Bahian slave traders successfully resisted attempts to divert their interests to other slaving centers under Portuguese control, and rejected periodic plans to organize trading companies which would bring peninsular merchants into the trade.[54]

In what may be considered a typical year, 1705, twenty-one licenses were issued in Bahia to slave traders. One lone navio was bound for São Tomé and Angola, and the other twenty vessels were "of the number" authorized to trade tobacco for slaves on the Mina Coast. The craft included ten sumacas, five pataxos, two navios, and one charrua; two of the sumacas were licensed for two voyages each. The Bahian traders particularly favored the small, relatively swift sumacas

and pataxos because their speed reduced slave mortality on the return voyage and made two trips a year possible. Of the nineteen ships licensed to trade for slaves on the Mina Coast in 1705, the ownership of two was not declared, and one belonged to a resident of the isle of São Tomé, but the remaining ships belonged to men easily identified as Bahian merchants, that is, persons whose residence and activities in Bahia can be traced over a relatively long period of time.

The licenses generally name only one or two owners, but the more complete ownership information contained in sales, consignments, and letters of proxy indicates that as many as four or five persons might own a single sumaca. (The same documents further confirm the predominance of Bahians among ship owners.) Merchants usually preferred to hold small interests in several vessels rather than concentrating their capital in a single craft, thereby spreading the risk of loss from disease, hijacking, or bad weather.[55]

The Bahian export-import merchants involved in the Atlantic trading circuits described above disposed of the cargoes they received in various ways: they sold European goods in their own Salvador shops and supplied local retailers; they sold slaves directly to the agriculturists of the Recôncavo and in some cases supplied slave labor for their own agricultural holdings; they supplied goods of all kinds to small independent distributors; they diverted goods to other coastal settlements including Rio de Janeiro--to which more than twenty ships annually made several voyages from Bahia; and they consigned to agents goods destined for the interior.[56] In the early eighteenth century the

discovery of gold and the ensuing scramble to the interior provided the established coastal merchants (as well as numerous transients) with a new and expanding market for their goods and offered a chance to acquire gold in exchange.

For the most part, Bahia's resident export-import merchants remained in Salvador, or perhaps in the vila of Cachoeira, while the distribution trade which linked the coast to the remote interior of the captiancy and to the mining areas to the south was actually handled by numerous small traders and agents who traveled the crude by-ways of the sertão in pack trains (comboios). These itinerant merchants could be independent traders or agents of coastal merchants working on a commission basis. I suspect most were both. It did not require much extra effort or risk on the part of the independent trader to take on an additional cargo; and, as the agent (comissário) of a large merchant, he received a good commission and gained access to credit. In any case, the letters of proxy registerd in Salvador and the vila of Cachoeira show close ties between the small itinerant traders and the businessmen on the coast.[57] These traders, when describing themselves, usually stated that they "lived by their business," and they occasionally specified: "to the Recôncavo," "to the mines," or "to the sertão." Usually they went everywhere, being charged in contracts to trade "wherever business is best." They stopped at the markets (feiras) held at small settlements (arreales) or at particular cattle fazendas located along the São Francisco River. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, they journeyed on to the mines. They transported slaves, livestock,

and European goods to the markets of the interior, as well as carrying long-awaited special orders from Portugal and precious letters from relatives in Salvador.

Just as partnerships served the purposes of merchants engaged in the Atlantic trade, they were used in the distribution trade as well. In 1708, for example, two merchants who lived in the lower city, Lourenço Dias Roza and Braz Gomes Novais, formed a modest companhia e sociedade with an initial capital investment of 4500 cruzados, of which Roza supplied 2500 cruzados and Novais 2000. The total sum was to be invested in the trade to the gold mines, to Rio de Janeiro, or wherever seemed best. Novais took charge of the funds; he was to use his judgement in the selection of goods and do the actual traveling. At the end of three years, the specified life of the partnership, each socio was to receive his original investment and the profits would be divided equally.[58]

More often the trade to the interior was conducted on a consignment basis--perhaps formalized in a carregação contract--in which a coastal merchant and an itinerant collaborated in a single business venture. Typically one individual financed the purchase of goods and the other did the traveling and trading in exchange for one-third or one-half of the profits. In 1709 a Salvador ship owner and slave trader named Captain Gonçalo Brito de Barros entrusted two agents with a cargo worth approximately 4300 cruzados, including several barrels of cane brandy, twenty horses, and six slaves to be traded for gold at one of the markets along the São Francisco River.[59] Another businessman, Antonio Mendes da Fonseca, a resident of the vila

of Cachoeira, consigned to itinerants separate cargoes of dry goods, horses, and slaves worth approximately 500, 650, 2000, and 500 cruzados. He dispatched these goods at his own cost and risk and instructed agents to trade them for gold at the mining centers or elsewhere. The profits from these sales were to be divided equally ("partiremos pello meio") and Fonseca's shares were to be remitted to him personally or via trusted agents.[60]

Consignments in this trading circuit ranged from a single horse or slave to goods worth thousands of cruzados. The work of itinerants made it possible for all kinds of coastal residents such as farmers, priests, and artisans to invest in the supply trade in hopes of returns in gold. For example, António Marques de Sousa, a Cachoeira shoemaker, gave an itinerant trader a single slave, a set of pistols, and some odds and ends, all worth under 400 cruzados. As was customary, the agent was instructed to trade for gold wherever conditions permitted and remit the proceeds to Marques de Sousa.[61]

It was in or around the vila of Cachoeira that most of the pack trains bound for the interior were organized. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, before Portuguese officials had worked out their mining policies, the crown prohibited all communication between Cachoeira and the mines. The governor dutifully ordered the newly created camara of Cachoeira and local militia officers to "use all means" to stop the formation of the pack trains (comboios). Now and then cargoes were confiscated, but the numerous carregações of prohibited items registered with notaries and the exasperated letters of the governor indicate that the trade flourished.[62]

Around 1711-1712, royal officials circulated one of their periodic plans to reorganize the Mina Coast trade and at the same time they proposed measures to curb the contraband trade in prohibited or untaxed goods between Cachoeira and the mines. Special companies of Indians and blacks, reminiscent of the non-white units which fought against the Dutch, would guard the Cachoeira outlets to the interior. The complete Lisbon proposal, which attacked and attempted to stifle the two most advantageous branches of Bahian commerce in this period, received a lengthy rebuttal from Salvador merchants who were involved in one or both trading routes. These businessmen, who had the backing of the Salvador council, could barely disguise their disgust in replying to the plan to organize special companies to patrol the district of Cachoeira, and their reply was as much a statement of contemporary prejudice as it was a defense of vested economic interest. They argued that it was physically impossible to control so large an area as the district of Cachoeira. If numerous royal orders, confiscations, and paid soldiers could not stem the flow of contraband, how could Indians and blacks be expected to do so? For a barrel of cane brandy they would allow a pack train of 100 horses to pass. Blacks and Indians were by nature inconstant, they contended, and once set loose, no pack train or traveler would be safe from their banditry.[63]

Most likely, officials in the vila of Cachoeira were already accepting barrels of brandy in exchange for free passage. Pack trains could be organized secretly almost anywhere in the sprawling district, but secrecy was probably unnecessary. No one seriously supposed that the long-established ties between Cachoeira and the interior

could be severed.

Thus far this discussion has concentrated on the role of merchants as importers, exporters and distributors of goods. At least brief mention should be made of the other commercial activities in which they engaged. Local businessmen owned most of the large warehouses (trapiches) located in the lower city where tobacco and sugar were stored before being exported. These proprietors received a small fee for each chest of sugar or roll of tobacco they stored.[64] The controlling interest of Bahian merchants in the carrying trade to the Mina Coast has already been described, but we may note that resident businessmen also invested in the carrying trade to Europe. Certainly they did not dominate in this sphere, but the fact that they possessed even limited interests is noteworthy. In 1697, for example, four Salvador businessmen--Francisco Lopes, Luis Fernandes Tinoco, and merchant-senhores de engenho Manuel Mendes Monforte and Manuel Lopes Henriques--purchased a 3/4 interest in the ship (nau) São Pedro and Santa Clara for 15,750 cruzados. At the time of sale the São Pedro and Santa Clara was in port at Bahia and ready to sail with the fleet to Lisbon. (The other 1/4 interest in the ship already belonged to another resident Bahian merchant, Duarte de Braque.)[65]

In addition to their investments in the carrying trade and in warehouses, merchants also bid for tax contracts and provided credit and cash loans for local residents. For the collection of royal and local taxes, the Portuguese government relied largely on tax farmers who bid for individual contracts on a one, three, or six-year basis. The actual number of negotiable contracts varied over the years as new

taxes were levied and old taxes consolidated. In the early eighteenth century, the Salvador council auctioned three major tax contracts: one on imported wine, wine brandy, and oil, another on locally produced cane brandy, and a third on each roll of tobacco and crate of sugar produced in the captaincy. The revenues from these taxes supported the local garrison. Around 1713, however, the council farms passed to the royal exchequer (Fazenda Real) in Bahia and were apparently abolished shortly thereafter, as the support of the garrison fell within the obligations of the dízimo contract. The latter, the largest and most important of all tax contracts, covered the royal tithe or tenth on all commodities produced in Brazil and was auctioned by the Fazenda Real. After 1710 the same body negotiated contracts to collect a tax on all slaves imported into the captaincy as well as a ten percent duty on imported dry goods (levied in 1714). Eventually control of these contracts passed to the Conselho Ultramarino, the Overseas Council, in Lisbon.[66]

The familiar sociedade served as the basis for tax-farming. One person normally bid for a designated contract and then subcontracted shares to three or four partners (socios). The contractor mortgaged his property to the appropriate government agency and provided fiadores to guarantee payment of the price of the contract. Discounting the costs of administration, the profits of the contractor and his socios were the difference between the price of the contract and the total revenues from the sale of produce collected from the tax-payers, who normally paid in kind. In a good year, the profits from tax-farming could be high, making it one of the more lucrative activities in which merchants

engaged. However, since the amount owed the royal treasury was determined before taxes were actually collected, tax-farming also involved a considerable amount of risk for the contractor; in some years officials had difficulty finding bidders and contractors in turn had problems collecting taxes.[67]

The large amounts at stake in tax-farming--tens of thousands of cruzados--and the necessity of providing security limited this activity to the larger merchants and landowners of Bahia. In one example, the four socios who farmed the camara tax on imported wine, wine brandy, and oil (1709-1715) were José de Araújo Rocha, José Alvares Viana, Miguel Carvalho Lima, and Pedro Barbosa Leal. Rocha and Viana, partners in at least one other enterprise, counted among Salvador's largest import-export merchants and were also landowners; Lima had farmed the same contract ten years earlier and the royal tithe on another occasion; Pedro Barbosa Leal was the large landowner and senhor de engenho introduced at some length in an earlier chapter.[68]

Merchants of course extended credit to the agriculturists whom they supplied with slaves and other commodities, and they advanced cash on loan. The records of the early eighteeth century provide few traces of a special group of merchant-bankers within the business community, and no institutions existed expressly for the purpose of providing capital for agricultural or commercial ventures.[69] Instead the function of money-lender was assumed by religious institutions, lay sodalities, and a variety of private citizens who placed cash on loan from time to time. As we have seen, a sample of three hundred loan agreements registered in Salvador between 1698 and 1715 suggests the

most important local sources of loans. Religious and lay institutions figured prominently as a source of capital, accounting for 45.3% of the total sum distributed. But among private individuals, merchants--and a few merchant-planters--most often loaned money. Their loans represented about 26% of the total funds in the sample. The large merchants loaned money to one another, to small traders, to urban residents, and to the agriculturists of the Recôncavo. Most often cash or notes changed hands to supply agricultural holdings, to build houses, to pay other debts, or to buy merchandise.[70]

The various activities described in the preceding pages constituted the major economic pursuits of Bahian merchants in the period 1680-1725. The kinds of mercantile investments available undoubtedly remained much the same throughout the colonial period, but in the early eighteenth century the growth of the Mina Coast trade and the supply trade to the mines providedmerchants with new economic opportunities. The increased demand for slaves and imported goods expanded markets and pushed commodity prices up as much as 100-200%, and skyrocketing costs brought constant complaints of misery and ruin from planters engaged solely in agriculture. In assessing the impact of the opening of the gold mines on the Bahian economy, historians have tended to emphasize the negative effects of inflation.[71] However, inflation did not affect all sectors in the same way. Rising commodity and slave prices together with expanding markets greatly benefitted Bahia's resident merchant community.

Commercial expansion did not continue indefinitely; the

years of the mining boom were numbered, and the Mina Coast trade deteriorated in the late 1730s.[72] But for a generation of merchants the early eighteenth century brought properity. The following pages explore some of the socio-economic and political ramifications of those prosperous years.

Mobility and the Role of Merchants in Bahian Society

Few elements of Bahian society escaped the biting commentary of the satirical poet Gregório de Matos, but the merchants were a favorite target. The "boca do inferno" ("Hell's tongue") considered them parasites and upstarts, men of dubious origins whose social pretensions never ceased. In one cutting work the poet profiles several immigrants to illustrate his contention that "senhora Dona Bahia" became a mother to newcomers and little more than a step-mother to her own native sons. One immigrant, the shop assistant of a New Christian in Portugal, is dispatched to Salvador as a comissário of dry goods, carrying a carregação made up between friends and compadres. His airs begin the minute his ship enters the Bahian harbor and he soon takes a house and stocks a small store. By cheating his customers ("vendendo gato por lebre"), he accumulates thousands of cruzados within four years. Bahian parents begin eyeing him and are anxious to surrender both daughter and dowry because they prefer him to the mazombos (Brazilian-born) who only know how to squander money. He marries, acquires two black concubines as well as a nursemaid, puts on a straw hat, and moves into a casa grande. He is entered on the electoral roll and is chosen councilman in the very

next election. Our canastreiro, still stinking of merchandise, is transformed into a big man.[73]

In other poems, Gregório de Matos did not hesitate to specify the targets of his contempt, naming prominent merchants in thinly-veiled personal references. Thus he accused António Maciel Teixeira ("Fuão Maciel Teixeira") of buying his membership in the Order of Christ. Businessman Nicolau Lopes Fiuza ("Marinículas da praia...a fiuza do dinheiro"), he sneered, was by rights a peddler.[74]

If somewhat exaggerated and particularly nasty at times, the satire of Gregório de Matos, nevertheless, provides a catalogue of contemporary attitudes and prejudice towards merchants. Commerce was linked pejoratively to usury, jewry, social obscurity, transience, and, in its more humble expressions, commerce connoted manual work of a type refined people simply did not perform. Such negative associations may have exercised some influence on day-to-day aspects of social intercourse, but they did not prevent the economic and social establishment of merchants in Bahia. It was the very visible success and recognition achieved by merchants that drew fire from Gregório de Matos.

Commercial activity did offer a primary means for getting ahead in Bahia, certainly in the period 1680-1725, and undoubtedly long before.[75] Of all groups, merchants displayed the most obvious examples of mobility: businessmen joined the agricultural elite, small shopkeepers became big businessmen, and transient agents and mariners settled in Salvador, to buy into a shipping society or to open a shop. This does not mean that a major social transformation occurred, or that all merchants rose from humble apprenticeships to positions of wealth and in-

fluence. But within the confines of a limited social and economic systhem in which a large portion of the labor force was enslaved, land concentrated in the hands of relatively few persons, local industry restricted to artisanry, and where the economy was characteristically unstable and export-oriented, some newcomers carved out a place for themselves through trade. In doing so some of these immigrant merchants contributed significantly to Bahia's internal growth by investing their time, energy and commercial profits in land development and agriculture.

The most successful merchants who chose to remain in Brazil purchased and/or married their way into the established agricultural and landed elite. António Gonsalves da Rocha, for example, whose Bahian career began in the 1690s and covered a good part of the eighteenth century, started as a caixeiro of a large businessman and contractor, Cristóvão Barbosa Vilas Boas. When the latter died in 1698, his widow named the young caixeiro to handle her business interests and administer the dízimo contract. With this leverage, Gonsalves da Rocha soon became a businessman in his own right, with interests in the slave trade and tax farming. He eventually acquired land on the island of Itaparica as well as a sugar mill and still in Cotegipe. He married into one of Bahia's oldest families, the Araújo Góes clan, and his daughter Leonor married Paulo de Argola of the long-established mill-owning Argola family. Rich and well-connected, Antonio Gonsalves da Rocha was entered on the electoral roll and served on the city council in 1718 and 1726. In 1725 he held the respected position of Provedor of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia.[76] Only a limited number of mercantile careers quite matched that of António Gonsalves da Rocha, but his case was not unique.

In another chapter we have seen that the commercial sector provided most of the new senhores de engenho who comprised the sugar elite.[77]

Business careers led in other directions as well. While some merchants invested in sugar mills or in cane farms, others invested in cattle raising and tobacco growing. One immigrant businessman named João Verdoa, who begins appearing in Bahian documents in the 1680s, invested heavily in the slave trade and in urban real estate and took over at least one tax contract. He established ties with correspondents in Pernambuco, São Tomé, Cachoeira and the interior. In the 1690s he began investing his capital in land, and he purchased several cattle ranches located along the São Francisco river. He also developed several tobacco properties in Cachoeira on which he produced his own tobacco for the Mina Coast trade; in the early eighteenth century Verdoa held interests in at least three vessels that participated in this trading circuit regularly. In 1697-98 Verdoa, his brother and fellow merchant Estevão, his father-in-law and brother-in-law together received sesmarias totaling over twenty square leagues of land in Porto Seguro. Verdoa married well; his wife Dona Brites was the daugher of Mestre de Campo and fidalgo Jeronimo Sodré Pereira. He established his only known child, a daughter, and her husband on the Recôncavo with a dowry of two large tobacco fazendas. Around 1710, Verdoa, a widower, moved permanently to Cachoeira where he lived on his Fazenda de Riba. He spent his last years as a priest.[78]

Verdoa was not the only merchant who invested in the expanding Cachoeira economy in this period. The vila of Cachoeira was at once the major outlet for the growing volume of tobacco cultivated in the

surrounding district and the point of origin for most of the pack trains headed for the sertão and the mines. The commercial boom of the first quarter of the eighteenth century nurtured the growth of a small group of merchants who resided in the vila rather than in Salvador and whose fortunes were based on tobacco exports, slave imports, and the trade to the mines. Immigrants such as Lourenço Correa Lisboa, Antônio Mendes da Fonseca, and Francisco Martins Sampaio established their own warehouses, corresponded with Salvador merchants, and named agents to trade in the interior. They also assumed the role of local financiers, placing gold dust on loan and co-signing loans for tobacco growers. As has been described in the chapter on the tobacco district, some Cachoeira merchants maintained more than commercial ties with agriculturists. Lourenço Correa Lisboa, for example, acquired land and married the daughter of a tobacco grower who provided him with a dowry settlement of 10,000 cruzados. He and other merchants confirmed their economic establishment in Cachoeira in a social sense through the acquisition of militia patents, active service in local lay brotherhoods, and public office-holding. By the 1720s the Adorno family that had founded and long dominated the settlement complained that control of the vila had passed in part to "powerful men of capital and reputation." The complaint specifically named Lisboa and Antônio Mendes da Fonseca in this connection.[79]

Not all merchants became men of power, capital, or reputation in the vila of Cachoeira, in Salvador, or on the Recôncavo. A final case study exemplifies a more modest form of mobility. Paulo André and

his wife Mariana emigrated from Lisbon and took up residence in the lower city of Salvador. In 1685 André went into business with a son-in-law, Manuel Pereira Braga. The exact nature of the business is unclear, but it probably involved peddling since they formed a partnership to trade in both the city and the sertão. The two men started with nothing more than their ambition ("industria para negociar"), but twelve years later, in 1697, they estimated their holdings at 12,000 cruzados. Two-thirds of this amount, or 8000 cruzados, pertained to Paulo André, as senior member of the trading partnership. At the time of this accounting André set aside at least 4000 cruzados from his earnings to provide dowries for two daughters. The merchant Paulo André apparently never became a landowner, and it can be said with greater certainty that he never became a prominent businessman or a member of Bahia's social and political elite. But his modest business gains did enable him to enhance his family's standing in Bahia in the long run. With her dowry of 3000 cruzados, his daughter Monica de Freitas married a distinguished military officer and sertanejo named Francisco João da Cunha. Their son, Francisco da Cunha Torres, was educated at Coimbra, admitted to the Order of Christ, and served on the Salvador camara in the 1730's.[80]

While individual examples of socio-economic mobility abound for this period, the position of the merchants as a group in Bahia remains to be seen. The existing data are insufficient to measure wealth or income distribution, and even information on individual fortunes is scanty, but some observations can be made about the social

recognition and influence achieved by merchants and how their position compared to that of established landowners and agriculturists.

It is clear that the merchants played an active political and social role in the life of the city in the period of interest here. They joined numerous lay brotherhoods, perhaps the most important social institutions of the colonial period, and they frequently served as officers. In 1686, for example, both the director and secretary of the cathedral chapter of the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament were merchants.[81] In addition, the most prestigious brotherhood in Bahia, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, admitted large merchants as brothers of major standing, the same status accorded great landowners, senhores de engenho, and high crown officials. The regular admission of merchants on this basis dates at least from the 1660's, when the extant membership rolls begin, rather than from around the beginning of the eighteenth century, as Russell-Wood implies in his study of the Santa Casa. Between 1663, the earliest documented year, and 1700, at least 54 of the 324 men admitted as brothers of high standing (one-sixth) were businessmen. More than half of these were admitted prior to 1685. The group included such men as Manuel de Oliveira Porto, admitted in 1669, Lourenço da Rocha Moutinho (1678), Sebastião Duarte (1678), Cristóvão Barbosa Vilas Boas (1685), and Domingos Escorcio (1688), to name only a few.[82]

Furthermore, during the seventeenth as well as the eighteenth century, men of mercantile origins rose to assume the directorship of the Misericórdia. While merchants may have assumed a relatively more

active role within the Santa Casa in the course of the eighteenth century, their admission to membership and office-holding must be viewed as a continuation of a well-established policy. The point is of some importance since, in part, Russell-Wood bases his thesis that a major shift in power from planters to merchants occurred in the first half of the eighteenth century on his reading of the membership and officer rolls.[83]

While the local militia command was dominated by older landed and mill-owning families throughout this period, merchants did obtain patents as officers, not only in the special company organized for merchants and foreigners, but in the regular parish companies as well. Most often a merchant was named captain of an urban unit and occasionally one was promoted to sergeant-major. At one point in the 1680's half of the eight Salvador militia captains were merchants: Sebastiao Duarte, Baltesar Carvalho da Cunha, António Amorim Correa, and Domingos Pires de Carvalho. Between 1687 and 1718, 63 men filled the thirteen posts of captain in the urban parishes; at least 22 men, or over one-third of the total, were merchants.[84]

At the same time, as the figures in Table 19 demonstrate, men of mercantile origins regularly served on the city council during the years 1680 to 1729, long before the crown officially ordered (in 1740) that businessmen be included on the electoral lists. Examples of merchant councilmen prior to that time are easily found, but I have made no attempt to quantify their representation because my biographical files are less complete for the earlier time.[85]

TABLE 19

MERCHANT REPRESENTATION ON THE SALVADOR COUNCIL
(1680-1729)

Years	Total No. of Officials Chosen	No. of Landed Merchants Chosen	No. of Other Merchants Chosen*	Total No. of Merchants Chosen	% of All Officials Who Were Merchants
1680-1689	74	11	2	13	18%
1690-1699	61	7	1	8	13%
1700-1709	43	3	2	5	12%
1710-1719	42	5	0	5	12%
1720-1729	40	9	7	16	40%
1680-1729	260	35	12	47	18%

*Some of these men may also have held land but I was not able to establish this fact with certainty.

Source: See Table 13, pp. 140-141.

Even those merchants who were not actually seated on the camara often participated in council deliberations througout the seventeenth century. The "homens de negocio" or "the richest merchants" were frequently called for consultation on important matters such as defense, currency shortages, taxation, and economic regulation. The merchants themselves were sufficiently organized as an interest group to present position papers and petitions concerning issues of import to them.[86] In this way the merchants always had some say in local government, and the most successful among them were absorbed into the

governing elite of homens bons on a regular basis.

For the most part social recognition and political offices accrued to businessmen rather than to small shopkeepers and itinerants. It is not always easy to determine where the line was drawn between a socially acceptable merchant and one too mean to occupy a council seat or command a militia company. The most obvious distinction was that made between a retail trader and the man rich enough and in possession of sufficiently wide interests to employ clerks and agents. For example, later in the century when Bahians complained that unworthy persons were being placed on the electoral rolls, they referred not to businessmen--who had long been entered on the rolls and seated on the council--but to tavernkeepers, shopkeepers and petty traders.[87] The same sort of distinction governed the admissions policy of the Santa Casa, as has been noted elsewhere, and the historian Luíza da Fonseca has encountered similar contrasts in attitudes towards the "opulent" businessman with numerous assistants and the retailer selling goods over the counter.[88] Other factors such as actual wealth, life style, marriage connections, family background, services, and personality undoubtedly meshed in varying combinations and degrees to determine individual status. However, the case studies I have compiled suggest that businessmen who contracted good local marriages and/or who became large landowners and planters achieved the highest offices and the greatest social recognition.

There are indications that towards the end of the period under consideration, that is, during the 1720's, the position of

businessmen in Salvador improved somewhat. The merchants successfully appealed to the governor to license the creation of a formal organization of Salvador merchants called the Mesa do Comércio or the Mesa do Bem Comum. This body, which began functioning in June of 1726, was largely a debating and advisory council and had no official political or juridical power. In defending his authorization to surprised officials in Lisbon, the Conde de Sabugosa reasoned that such a council would facilitate price and freight negotiations and eliminate much confusion and superfluity when business interests wished to formulate petitions and appeals. The crown never officially approved its existence, but the mesa functioned until its abolition in 1757 after having been superseded by another organization.[89]

About the same time, a few successful businessmen began receiving promotions to the coveted post of militia colonel, a title long dominated by well-established sugar families. In 1719 the governor created a new urban regiment and named businessman José de Araújo Rocha to the position of colonel. A year later he chose homem de negocio Simão Alves Santos to head another new regiment formed for the island of Itaparica. Shortly after, this command passed to an immigrant businessman and mill owner named José Alvares Viana, who held the post at least through the 1730's.[90] Furthermore, as Table 19 indicates, men of mercantile origins comprised a far greater proportion of the camara membership during the 1720's than they had in previous decades. Between 1720 and 1729 sixteen merchants, representing 40% of the total membership, were chosen to serve on the Salvador council.

The organization of the Mesa do Comércio, the selection of businessmen to command militia regiments, and the changing composition of the municipal council would seem, at first glance, to support Russell-Wood's contention that this period initiated a shift in power from the Recôncavo to the city, and from planter families to businessmen. This theory has already been disputed by David Smith and John Kennedy. Smith has shown that merchants achieved considerable socio-politcial influence during the seventeenth century, and Kennedy has argued that planters continued to exercise political power in the pre-independence period.[91] But questions about the early eighteenth-century developments remain. The information I have gathered about both the sugar and commercial sectors suggests the following analysis.

Merchants did assume a greater role in local government and in the militia in the early eighteenth century, but their gains did not represent a dramatic departure from the past or a major shift in power. Well before the turn of the century businessmen had participated in council deliberations, and the most successful among them had long been seated on the council as voting members. In addition they had for some time held lower milita posts and had been admitted to the Santa Casa as members of high standing. The events of the early eighteenth century, then, were bascially a continuation of processes well established.

The more rapid movement of immigrant merchants into the socio-political elite in the early eighteenth century was closely tied to commercial prosperity, to the administrative and electoral changes

described in an earlier chapter on the sugar sector, and to the policies on one governor, the Conde de Sabugosa. In this period the final scrutiny of the electoral rolls passed from the homens bons to the governor, the electoral district of Salvador was greatly reduced in size, and new councils were established in the vilas of the Recôncavo. As some old families chose to exercise their influence through the vila councils, it became difficult to find suitable candidates for Salvador offices. I suspect that in the 1720's the realistic Conde de Sabugosa exercised his control over local elections to place members of the successful new generation of slave traders on the council. The same governor licensed the Mesa do Comércio and he, or his predecessor, were responsible for militia appointments. It is no coincidence that the new militia colonels, the new councilmen, and the members of the Mesa--often the same people--were all prominent participants in the Mina Coast trade: Colonel José de Araújo Rocha, Colonel José Alvares Viana, Manuel Gonsalves Viana, and Antônio Gonsalves da Rocha, among others.[92]

The important point to be made here is that the advances made by merchants were closely related to mercantile prosperity and the polticies of the Conde de Sabugosa. Mobility may have slowed somewhat when these factors were no longer present. Furthermore, the gains of individual merchants did not signal a decline in the influence of older, established landed and planter families. As we have seen, some sugar families were ruined by the economic crises of the eighties and nineties, but many more survived. They retained their dominance of the

militia command and they remained active in local government. They did not "opt out" of public affairs, they simply turned their attention in many cases to the newly created vila camaras of the Recôncavo.

In the early eighteenth century the merchants as a whole, through their Mesa do Comérico, may have become somewhat more consolidated as an urban class. But this development was a modest one. The leading businessmen who obtained offices and recognition usually did so after they had married locally and had acquired substantial landed and agricultural as well as commercial interests. To some extent they shared the interests, values, and aspirations of Bahia's traditional landed elite and cannot be viewed as representative of any narrowly defined sector. In this period Bahia's social, economic, and governing elite, which encompassed both the city and the Recôncavo, was composed of the same types of people and formed in the same way as it always had been. Its center consisted of well-established sesmaria and planter families who absorbed into their ranks the most successful immigrant businessmen of each generation.

NOTES

1. Biographies were assembled for over 400 merchants of various types who resided in Bahia for part or all of the period 1680 to 1725. In some cases careers continued well beyond 1725. From the 400-plus, 132 merchants comprised a core group, selected because they operated moreorless contemporaneously and because the desired data concerning origins and marital status concerning them was available. Throughout this chapter the examples used were drawn from the larger pool of merchants. For the major sources on which biographies are based see chap. IV, note 1.

2. See for example: Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, pp. 152-153. Faoro, Os donos do poder, I, pp. 205-210. Fernandes, A revolução burguesa no Brasil, pp. 23-25.

3. Freyre, Sobrados e mucambos, I, 121 ff. Caio Prado, Formação do Brasil contemporâneo, pp. 228, 294-297. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 120-123, and passim.

4. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chaps. VIII and IX.

5. Definitions of terms are based on their usage in a variety of contemporary documents and particularly as they were applied to the men whose biographies were compiled for this study. Comerciante and negociante also referred generally to merchants, but in the mid-colonial period these terms appeared less frequently than mercador and homem de negocio.

6. The Board of Trade (Junta do Comércio) was founded in Lisbon between 1755 and 1760. Kennedy, "Bahian Elites 1750-1822" p. 420. In a typical example of diversification Manuel Soares Ferreira exported tobacco and cane brandy, imported slaves, and owned shares in several ships. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 20, 1705, f. 155. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 439, 1699, fs. 191-191v; 1700, fs. 204v-205; 1701, fs. 216v-217; 1702, fs. 222-222v. Another businessman named José de Araújo Rocha was an import-export merchant, a ship owner, and a tax farmer. He also owned at least two large cattle ranches in the interior, each of which occupied six leagues along the Parnaíba River. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 199v. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1705, fs. 31-31v; 1714, fs. 316-316v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 31v-32v. Livro 26, 1712, 169v-171v.

7. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 125.

8. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, posturas of 1710, no. 30, f. 41v. Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento, pp. 392-398.

9. Caixeiro Manuel Martins Lordello was shop assistant to merchant Domingos da Costa Guimarães. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 14, docs. 71, 71a, 71b, 71c, 1720-1721, fs. 175-178. Domingos Rodrigues de Oliveira and his caixeiro, Manuel Mendes Lima, settled accounts in 1698. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 13, 1698, fs. 118-118v.

10. For example, when the four owners of the curveta São Pedro, all businessmen, dispatched the vessel and its cargo to the African coast, they named the ship's captain, João de Almeida Lima ("que vive de seu negocio") as their principal agent. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 34, 1720, fs. 70-71v, 73-74.

11. See for example: Rocha Pita, História, pp. 443-444.

12. One trader, Luis Alves Correa, purchased some dry goods from a Cachoeira supplier to sell at one of the trading centers of the interior. For the same journey he accepted a consignment of dry goods, one slave, and two horses from the same merchant to sell for a commission. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1713, fs. 34-34v (copies of contracts of 1711).

13. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, 1672, f. 23v; 1710, no. 20, fs. 39v-40; 1710, no. 90, f. 51.

14. Mascate referred to a hawker of goods in general, while regateiro seems to have been applied more specifically to urban street vendors who sold fresh produce. Canastreiro applied to traders who carried canastras, or packs, and volante simply meant itinerant. No term can be defined rigidly, however, since all were used interchangeably; they were sometimes used to describe small merchants in general and were even attached to large merchants in a derrogatory sense. Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil, p. 108. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, 1710, no. 31, f. 42; no. 42, f. 43; no. 90, f. 51. Gregório de Matos, Obras completas (7 vols.; Salvador, 1969), II, 429-437.

15. João Fernandes Maciel, for example, "lived by selling on the Recôncavo." APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 44-46. Another pack trader, José Marques Pinello, reported that he "vive de andar pelo Recôncavo com canastra." Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1715, fs. 196v-198.

16. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 525-533.

17. AMB: Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.4, 1718, fs. 240v-242v.

18. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1701, f. 104. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1697, fs. 121v-123. His father Luis de Sousa Lisboa, was also a merchant. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1668, fs. 135-136. Atas da Camara, IV, 1669, 404-406. VI, 1685, 35-36.

19. The sample includes all merchants identified in this period for whom the desired information was available. The group of 132 includes thirteen persons who were also included in the sample of eighty senhores de engenho analyzed in chap. IV.

20. Cited in Caio Prado, The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil, p. 326.

21. See chap. IV, pp. 124-128.

22. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 941-942, 978-979. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 222-222v. Livro 10, 1697, fs. 137-138v. Livro 17, 1701, fs. 160-162. Livro 23, 1709, fs. 31v-32v.

23. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1688, fs. 753-754. Livro 3, 1710, f. 326. Atas da Camara, IV, 1661, 72-74; 1662, 117-118. DHBNRJ, IV, 1664, 169-170. PAN, XXVII, 1681, p. 73. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 6, 1688, fs. 91v-93v. Livro 18, 1700, fs. 27v-28v. Escorcio also had an uncle who resided in Bahia and from whom he received a donation of military services. Notas, Capital, Livro 5, 1686, fs. 114v-115.

24. Monforte had two sons, Jeronimo Rodrigues de Crasto (not to be confused with his grandfather of the same name) and Marcos Mendes Monforte. (He also had a nephew, Dr. Manuel Mendes Monforte, to whom he married one of his daughters. The second Manuel, perhaps intended to carry on his uncle's business affairs, had business and landed interests in Bahia but eventually ran afoul of the Inquisition.) APB-SJ: Notas, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 86v-88v. Livro 25, 1712, fs. 208-210v. Livro 30, 1714, fs. 2-3v; 1715, fs. 146v-148v. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Novinsky, "Fontes para a história economica e social do Brasil," pp. 359-392. Domingos Martins Pereira had one son, Antônio Cavalcante e Albuquerque. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1710, f. 326. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 24. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 22, 1707, fs. 85-87.

25. Brandão: ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 943-944. ANRJ: Códice 143, doc. 49, 1719, f. 55. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 34, 1720, fs. 46v-48. Araújo: Notas, Capital, Livro 27, 1712, fs. 48v-49v, 176v-178, Seixas: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1717, fs. 53v-54v. Almeida: Notas, Capital, Livro 17,1701, fs. 224-225. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 19, doc. 111, 1724, f. 193. Luíza da Fonseca, "Bacharéis Brasileiros," pp. 193-194.

26. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 29v-31. Livro 21, 1705, fs. 218v-219v. Livro 27, 1712, fs. 10v-11v, 16v-18. In another example the merchant Paulo André, from Lisbon, married his daughter to another merchant, Manuel Pereira Braga, and the two men

went into business together. Braga in turn married his daughter to a merchant from Coimbra named Manuel Henriques Aires. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1701, f. 107; 1717, f. 393. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 17, 1701, fs. 190-191v.

27. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. VIII. Caio Prado, The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil, p. 326.

28. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1701, f. 101.

29. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 945-946. Livro 3, 1704, f. 183.

30. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 18, doc. 46, 1724. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1684, fs. 651-652. Livro 3, 1718, f. 407v.

31. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1682, fs. 545-546. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, LIvro 14, 1698, fs. 91-92. Livro 19, 1702, fs. 172-174.

32. For example, João Lopes Velho was an homem pardo and morador in Salvador who "lived by his business." APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 31, 1715, fs. 141-142v.

33. Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, pp. 131-132.

34. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 27, 1712, fs. 239-241. AMB: Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.4, 1718, fs. 240v-242v. Atas da Camara, IV, 1660, 43-44. Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento, pp. 392-393.

35. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 46-48.

36. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 380, 1707, f. 173; doc. 501, 1709, f. 216. Vol. 11, docs. 48, 48a, 1717. Provisões, Vol. 272, 1717, fs. 197-197v. See Table 16. Seven percent of the resident merchants in the sample were foreigners. This does not include numerous foreigners who arrived and departed with the fleet. In 1699 Dampier commented on the relative scarcity of foreign merchants in Bahia, but it is obvious that their numbers increased thereafter, largely in response to the new economic opportunities of the early eighteenth century. Dampier's Voyages, II, 381-382.

37. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1718, fs. 213-213v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 29, 1713, fs. 131v-133. Cock was a ship owner and business associate of Bahian merchants Sebastião Carvalho dos Santos and Pedro Barbosa de Araújo. Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699,

fs. 228v-230v. Verger, Flux et reflux, pp. 48-53. ANRJ: Códice 143, doc. 112, 1721, fs. 128v-130.

38. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 11, 1697, fs. 59-60v. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 99v-101v. Livro 32, 1719, fs. 306v-307. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, doc. 380, 1707, f. 173.

39. The private accounts of one Lisbon merchant showed the following distribution of exports to Bahia between 1701 and 1720: food staples, 52.2%; beverages, 34.1%; textiles, 8.8%; other manufactured goods, 4.9%. Lisanti, Negócios coloniais, I, cdxxxix. The Bahian shipping entries for 1699 through 1725 show that four times as many ships arrived in Bahia from Lisbon than from Porto, and an insignificant number came from Viana and the Atlantic islands. Thales de Azevedo, Povoamento, p. 226.

40. José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a carreira da India (Sao Paulo, 1968), pp. 229-252. Verger, Flux et reflux, pp. 46 ff.

41. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 7, 1690, fs. 68-70. Livro 37, 1722, fs. 95v-97.

42. For example, the Cachoeira merchant Francisco Martins Sampaio named agents at the mines, Pernambuco, and elsewhere. Among his agents were his father, an uncle, and three brothers. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 100-101v. Livro 6, 1715, fs. 183-184v. See also Livro 33, 1719, fs. 105-106. The correspondence between Lisbon merchant Francisco Pinheiro and his agents and partners in Brazil is peppered with references to ties of kinship. Lisanti, Negócios coloniais, I, cl, cxxi ff., 35.

43. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 26, 1712, fs. 40-40v. (Includes contract of 1708.) For another example of a sociedade see: Notas, Capital, Livro 42, 1725, fs. 89v-91. In this case the trade was conducted between Porto and Salvador. There are many references to the use of sociedades in the commercial correspondence published in Lisanti, Negócios coloniais, I, 7-131.

44. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 120-124. Vol. 9.25, 1708, fs. 401-402. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 17, doc. 98, 1723. As noted in chaps. III and V, in this period the prices of tobacco and sugar were determined by delegates chosen by Bahia's planters and merchants.

45. For references to this practice see: Mauro, Le Portugal et l'Atlantique, p. 225. DHBNRJ, LXXXVIII, consulta of 16 Oct. 1675, pp. 75-78. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 120-124. APB-SH: Provisoes, Vol. 272, 1718, f. 212.

46. Teixeira: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 28-29v,

197-198. DHBNRJ, LXXXIII, 1694, 140. Ruy, História da camara, p. 358. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 980-981. Guimarães: AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 199v. ANRJ: Códice 143, 1724, fs. 167v-173v. ABB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 19, 1725, f. 210. Miranda, APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 26, 1712, fs. 13v-14v. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 199v; 1714, fs. 230v-231.

47. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 1, 1664, fs. 103-106. Atas da Camara, V, 1670, 31-33. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1670, f. 20v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro, 5, 1686, fs. 113-113v. Livro 21, 1704, fs. 10v-11v. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1678, f. 451; 1695, fs. 931-932. One of Duarte's daughters, Elena dos Santos, married the senhor de engenho and Licenciado Bartolomeu Fernandes Ripado. Another daughter, Francisca Maria, married senhor de engenho André Brito de Castro.

48. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 1, 1664, fs. 103-106.

49. For the trade between Angola and Rio in the eighteenth century see: Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," The Journal of Economic History, XXXII (December 1972), 894-918.

50. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 13, doc. 57, 1711, f. 24; doc. 62, 1713, fs. 27v-28. Vol. 22, doc. 85c, 1726. The best analysis of the expansion and operation of the Mina Coast trade is Verger, Flux et reflux, chaps. I-III.

51. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 184.

52. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 5-6.

53. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 20, 1705, f. 155. See also: Livro 34, 1720, fs. 73-74. Eighteenth-century merchants wrote that it was best if the captain of a slaving vessel held an interest in the ship's cargo so that he would take more care in the delicate trading negotiations for which he was usually responsible. Lisanti, Negócios coloniais, I, d-di.

54. Verger, Flux et reflux, pp. 27-53.

55. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1705, fs. 26-39. The owners include: Rafael Gomes de Abreu (a shopkeeper who became a businessman); Nicolao Lopes Fiuza (see chap. IV): João Verdoa (see below p. 259); José de Araújo Rocha (see note 6); Mathias Rodrigues Ferreira; Manuel Correa Seixas; António de Sousa Carias; Manuel Ramos Aires (businessman and senhor de engenho); José Gonsalves da Costa; Estevão Espanete; João da Costa Barbosa; Domingos Ramos da Cunha; Gabriel Ribeiro; Jasinto Barbosa;

Gonçalo de Brito Barros. All are merchants whose activities in Bahia can be traces over a number of years, usually at least twenty years.

56. For the coastal trade see for example: AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.25, 1705, fs. 215-218v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 16, 1700, fs. 187v-188v. Livro 18A, 1702, f. 36. Livro 23, 1709, fs. 111v-112.

57. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 44-46. Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1715, fs. 196v-198.

58. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 22A, 1708, fs. 28-29v.

59. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 67v-69 (contract of 1706). For more examples see in the same book: fs. 69-70, 71-71v, 72-72v, 93v-94, and passim.

60. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1715, fs. 173v-180 (consignments of 1711, 1713, 1714). See also Livro 6, 1714, fs. 143v-144v. In some cases the agent received one-third of the profits. Cachoeira, Livro 7, 1715, fs. 42-43.

61. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 6, 1713, fs. 26v-27.

62. APB-SH: Cartas do Governo à Varias Autoridades, Vol. 149, 1703, fs. 96, 98-98v, 124, 136v. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 21 May 1711, pp. 27-30.

63. For the proposal and the response of the city council and the businessmen see: AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, fs. 177v-199v.

64. In 1704 there were at least eight large warehouses (trapiches) in the lower city, not counting the smaller armazens owned by merchants. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 127.4, 1704. fs. 69-72.

65. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 11, 1697, fs. 35-38.

66. APB-SH: Provisões, Vol. 272, 1702, f. 146. Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, doc. 36, 1698. Vol. 8, doc. 46, 1714. Vol. 12, doc. 23, 1718. ANRJ: Codice 143, 1723, f. 147; 1724, fs. 167v-173v. Caio Prado, The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil, pp. 375-378.

67. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 115v-116. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 12, doc. 23, 1718.

68. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 31v-32v. For Pedro Barbosa Leal see above pp. 117-123. For José de Araújo Rocha see above note 6. Viana: APB-SJ: Notas, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 17v-18v. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1702, fs. 224v-226. Lima: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 19, 1702, fs. 142v-144v. Livro 23, 1709, fs. 115v-116. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 5, doc. 36, 1698.

69. When Caldas compiled his list of merchants residing in Salvador in the mid-eighteenth century he named only five men who specialized in money-lending alone. I suspect that even these five were described in terms of their major rather than sole economic pursuit. Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 522-533. Earlier, only João de Matos de Aguiar stands out among merchants as a large financier. Aguiar eventually left a fortune to the Santa Casa when he died in 1700. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 63-64.

70. See chap. III, Table 4.

71. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 64-71. Furtado, The Economic Growth of Brazil, pp. 66-71.

72. "Parecer de Wenceslão Pereira da Silva," 12 Feb. 1738, in Castro e Almeida, ed., Inventário dos documentos relativos ao Brasil, I, 27-31. "Discurso preliminar," pp. 136-137.

73. Gregório de Matos, Obras completas, II, 429-437.

74. Gregório de Matos, Obras completas, IV, 908.

75. In the early seventeenth century Brandão wrote that many merchants possessed large cane farms and mills on their own lands where they resided; some had married in Brazil. Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil, p. 92. For a case study ofmobility in Recife see José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, Antônio Fernandes de Matos 1671-1701 (Recife, 1957). For an example of an immigrant merchant who operated in Brazil (in this case Rio and the mines) but who eventually returned to Portugal permanently, see Virginia Rau, "Um mercador Luso-Brasileiro do século xviii," Estudos da história econômica (Lisbon, 1961). For examples of merchant investments in land and agriculture prior to the period studied here see: Eduardo de Oliveira França, "Engenhos, colonização e cristãos novos na Bahia colonial," Anais do IV Simposio Nacional dos Professores Universitarios de História (São Paulo, 1969), pp. 181-241. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. IX.

76. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1715, f. 385. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 125. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 46-48v. Livro 28, 1713, fs. 113-114. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 439, 1700, fs. 200-200v. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.30, 1738, fs. 160v-162v.

Caldas, Notícia geral, pp. 432, 445. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 374. Ruy, História da camara, p. 359. DHBNRJ. LXII, 1716, 136-139.

77. See chap. IV. At least 15 of the 132 merchants in my sample group acquired mills. Thirteen of these were included in the sample of eighty senhores de engenho analyzed in chap. IV.

78. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 439, 1699, fs. 190v-191; 1700, fs. 195-195v. Vol. 440, 1704, fs. 20-20v; 1705, fs. 29-29v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 197-198. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 158-159v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 94-96, 157v-158v, 177v-179. Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 29v-32. Livro 13, 1722, fs. 110v-112v. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 138. PAN, XXVII, 1697-98, pp. 103,104, 108.

79. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 2, 1701, fs. 78v-80v. Livro 5, 1710, fs. 44v-46v. Livro 6, 1715, fs. 171v-173, 178-180, 216v-218, 236-237v. Livro 7, 1714, fs. 102-103v. Livro 9, 1717, fs. 43-43v. Livro 12, 1721, fs. 87-88. Livro 13, 1722, fs. 157-158v. Livro 16, 1725, fs. 83-84v. Luíza da Fonseca, "Bacharéis Brasileiros," pp. 222-223, 289. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 32, doc. 49, 1736, f. 178; doc. 49a, 1734, f. 179; doc. 48b, 1736, f. 180.

80. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1701, f. 107; 1728, f. 559. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 17, 1701, fs. 190-191v. Carvalho Franco, Dicionário de bandeirantes e sertanistas do Brasil, pp. 131-132. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.30, 1732, fs. 34-34v.

81. APB-SJ: Notas, Livro 5, 1686, fs. 113-113a. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.6, 1701, fs. 108v-110v. See also the sources cited in note 47.

82. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 110-111, 119-120, 372-375. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2 (1663-1695). Livro 3 (1696-1733). The membership rolls were compared with my biographical files. For the merchants mentioned in the text see Livro 2, fs. 171-172, 439, 451, 689-690, 753-754. In one of several references Porto appears as a businessman in Atas da Camara, VI, 1685, 35-36. For Moutinho see above p. 101; Duarte, pp. 242-243; Vilas Boas, p. 258; Escorcio, p. 229. Smith reached the same conclusion in his reading of the membership rolls of the Santa Casa. "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil, chap. X.

83. During the second half of the seventeenth century at least five men of mercantile origins served as Provedor for a total of nine years: Francisco Fernandes do Sim, João Peixoto Viegas, João de Matos de Aguiar, João Alves Fontes, and Antônio Maciel Teixeira. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 372-375. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. X. In the subsequent

half century six merchants served as Provedor for a total of years: José de Araújo Rocha (1716), Antônio Gonsalves da Rocha (1725), Miguel Passos Dias (1730), André Marques (1739, 1749), Domingos Lucas de Aguiar (1742,1747), Custódio da Silva Guimarães (1743).

84. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vols. 124.2-124.7, 1683-1716. Oficios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1717-1725. See especially Vol. 124.2, 1687, fs. 42v-50. Some other merchants named militia captains in city regiments were: Nicolao Lopes Fiuza, Miguel Carvalho Lima, Gonçalo Brito de Barros, José Bautista Carvalho, Bernabe Cardoso Ribeiro, João Lopes Fiuza, Domingos Ramos da Cunha, Domingos de Lima e Miranda, José Alvares Viana. Vol. 124.7, 1702, fs. 5v-6, 17v-18; 1704, fs. 49-49v; 1706, fs. 87v-88; 1707, fs. 96-96v; 1708, fs. 99v-100, 101-101v; 1710, fs. 143-144; 1714, fs. 223v-224v.

85. For example, the merchant Manuel Gonsalves Barros served as juís ordinario in 1642. Ruy, História da camara, p. 350. Jaboatão, "Catálogo," p. 103. The merchant Manuel de Oliveira Porto was elected procurador in 1675. Ruy, História da camara, p. 354, Atas da Camara, VI, 1685, 35-36. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1740, f. 199.

86. See for example: AMB: Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.1, 1659(?), f. 48v. Atas da Camara, II, 1642, 70-71; 1643, 176-178. VI, 1685, 35-36; 1697, 338-339.

87. AMB: Registo de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1739, fs. 195-195v. They specifically complained of "taverneiros com lojas abertas," "vendelhões," and "homens de servir." It is not clear whether these charges were founded in fact.

88. Luíza da Fonseca, "Bacharéis Brasileiros," p. 133.

89. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 26, docs. 66, 66b, 1729-1730, fs. 221-224. Castro e Almeida, Inventário dos documentos relativos ao Brasil, I, 1757, 171-172.

90. Both Rocha and Viana were first named colonels of the less prestigious regiments of Sergipe del Rey in the second decade of the eighteenth century. AMB: Ofícios ao Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1719, fs. 48v-50; 1720, fs. 127-128. Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1714, fs. 223v-224v. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1724, fs. 141-141v. DHBNRJ, LXXIV, 1726, 130-133.

91. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, pp. 120-121. Kennedy, "Bahian Elites 1750-1822," pp. 415-439. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chap. X.

92. Araújo Rocha: see note 6. da Rocha: see note 76. Alvares Viana: AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 199v. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1713, f. 370. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 17v-18v. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. Gonsalves Viana: APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 439, 1706, fs. 53-54v. Provisões, Vol. 276, passim. Ordens Régias, Vol. 20, docs. 102, 103, 1726, fs. 295-296v. Ruy, História da camara, pp. 359-360.

93. See chap. IV. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1727, fs. 209-210. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 21, doc. 66, 1727. Ruy, História da Camara, pp. 359-360.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARTISANS OF SALVADOR

When the English sea captain William Dampier stopped at Bahia in 1699 he commented on the presence of "Artificers and Tradesmen of most Sorts, who by Labour and Industry maintain themselves very well."[1] Dampier was neither the first nor the last observer to note the existence of numerous artisans in the colonial capital. A vital element in the life of the city, they worked in their small shops (tendas), at construction sites, or in the shipyards. As we have seen, their counterparts moved among the small settlements of the Recôncavo or resided permanently on the larger plantations. The officiais mecânicos, as they were usually called, offer a particularly fascinating subject of study for the social historian; one of the few groups of non-elite freemen who left more than scattered traces in the Bahian archives, their lives and work permit a glimpse of society beneath the surface of wealth and prominence.

Generally the crafts and trades have occupied a peripheral position in historical research conducted for other purposes--the study of municipal politics, local folklore, the Negro, and so forth.[2] To add some depth to our understanding of colonial artisans and to broaden our knowledge of Bahia's intermediary social elements, the following pages examine in detail one generation of free urban mecânicos who lived and worked in the city of Salvador, focusing on several major questions:

Who were the artisans? What were their principal social and economic activities? How important was corporate organization among artisans? To what extent did the crafts and trades offer opportunities for social mobility? What part did the artisans play in the political life of the city? To explore these questions this chapter first examines the types and distribution of trades in the city, the organization of work, and the nature of corporate and municipal regulation. One section offers a social and economic profile of a generation of free artisans. Origins and marriage patterns are analyzed and the entrepreneurial character of the city's leading craftsmen is emphasized. Finally, the status and public role of artisans in the larger community is assessed.

Activities and Organization

The bulk of Salvador's mecânicos served the more practical needs of a relatively young, and growing society. They occupied the basic construction and clothing trades and they directed or provided skilled labor for the city's limited special industries, most important of which were shipbuilding and the processing of hides. The predominant occupations and their relative importance are suggested in a sample of 469 professions of artisans residing in the city for part or all of the period 1680-1725.[3] (See Table 20.)

Using locally processed leather and countless imported textiles, shoemakers and tailors clothed the Bahians in everything from practical cloaks and boots to velvet slippers created in imitation

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF SALVADOR ARTISANS AMONG THE CRAFTS AND TRADES

Crafts and Trades	No.	% of Total
Clothing and Related Trades		
Cobblers	100	21.3
Tailors	56	11.9
Dyers	2	.4
Construction, Shipbuilding and Related Trades		
Joiners	54	11.5
Carpenters	36	7.7
Stonemasons	29	6.2
Caulkers	6	1.3
Metal Workers		
Blacksmiths	35	7.5
Swordsmiths	17	3.6
Locksmiths	7	1.5
Coppersmiths	5	1.1
Tinsmiths	5	1.1
Silversmiths and Goldsmiths	43	9.2
Others		
Coopers	28	6.0
Tanners	13	2.8
Artists and Decorators	11	2.3
Barber-surgeons	7	1.5
Leather workers and Saddlers	5	1.1
Pharmacists	4	.9
Butchers	4	.9
Candlemakers	2	.4
Total	469	100.2

Source: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 2-42, 1680-1725.

of French and English fashions. Public buildings, streets, fountains, churches, and private homes were constructed by stonemasons and carpenters, while joiners and cabinetmakers fashioned simple chests, tables, and other items from jacaranda and other fine native woods. Copper vessels, iron tools, window gratings, and other metal artifacts came from the workshops of various types of metal workers who, unlike the builders, imported most of their materials. A special group of caulkers and carpenters worked in the shipyards, while the city's tanners processed the hides which constituted one of the captaincy's most important exports, served as a wrapping for tobacco exported, and supplied the needs of local cobblers, saddlers, and leather workers. And Bahian artisanry did notlack an aesthetic side; painters, sculptors, and other artists finished the interiors of churches and private chapels; goldsmiths and silversmiths catered to the demands of the elite for luxury items; and here and there a bookbinder or instrument maker plied his trade.[4]

While the sample of 469 tradesmen indicates the most important activities in the city and provides a reasonably accurate idea of their relative importance, the comparatively high percentage (9.2%) of goldsmiths and silversmiths in the group should perhaps be explained. The prosperous and prestigious workers of precious metals always possessed a visibility which exceeded their actual strength in numbers. Keeping this in mind, it is nevertheless true that the number of smiths in the city, more than fifty in 1718, was much higher than one might expect for a city of about 40,000 people--half of whom

were enslaved. This came about because of the discovery of gold in the interior and because of Salvador's long-term position as a major outlet for the contraband trade in precious metals, involving not only gold, but the silver of Spanish America as well.[5] Finally, in commenting on the sample, it should be emphasized that this is basically an urban profile. We have seen elsewhere that artisans were also present on the Bahian Recôncavo, working as itinerants or attached to the larger plantations. The distribtution of trades practiced outside the city undoubtedly offered some contrasts to the urban pattern, revealing less variety, and including an important group of technicians and skilled workers connected directly with the manufacture of sugar.[6]

All artisans shared a common attribute in having been trained to work with their hands and support themselves by practicing a trade. Beyond that initial defining characteristic, in Salvador, as elsewhere, the artisan community was fragmented in various ways. Certain crafts traditionally conveyed more prestige than others, involved more complex training and fewer unsavory tasks, or provided greater economic opportunity. To cite a few obvious examples: Portuguese legislation conferred special privileges on goldsmiths; the practice of pharmacy required specialized training and perhaps a university degree; and, the income generated by major construction contracts surpassed that accruing from the daily repair of shoes.[7] Within each trade group a gap existed between the propertied master craftsmen and the day laborers and apprentices they employed. Furthermore, in Bahia, the usual divisions among artisans were complicated by the presence of blacks and pardos

in the trades and the use of slave labor.

The rigid hierarchy of laborers, apprentices, journeymen and masters associated with the classic guild system was never well-developed in Salvador. The categories existed in a rough functional sense, but they were never institutionalized to imbue each with well-defined skill levels, privileges, and characteristics. In the Bahian context the members of each trade or craft fell roughly into three categories.[8] The elite of each trade, and the artisan elite in general, consisted of independent artisans who managed their own establishments, hired the services of others, and were generally men of property. Theoretically the best of their respective professions, most carried the designation mestre, or master craftsman. In Portugal the most skilled and experienced members of a craft conferred the title of mestre within the appropriate guild, In Bahia, where trade corporations were loosely and unevenly organized, the title is probably best understood as an indication of experience, wealth, perhaps age, and a consensus opinion about competence, rather than as a formally acquired title. With some exceptions this was essentially a white category in the early eighteenth century, judging from notarial records and the registers of artisans' licenses.[9]

The second major category included the free apprentices and day laborers who worked for daily sustenance and/or wages. They were called (as were the slaves) apprendiz (apprentice), obreiro (laborer), or official, a term which could be used to mean journeyman but most often simply meant artisan. These were the least prosperous and

articulate of free artisans and included pardos and blacks as well as whites. The relative proportion of non-white to white is unknown for this period, but the long-range development involved the increasing concentration of non-whites in this category.[10]

Enslaved black and colored apprentices and laborers occupied the bottom level of the artisan hierarchy. They belonged to independent craftsmen or to private citizens of various types who leased their services to others.[11] The use of slave labor by artisans developed early in Bahia in response to labor shortages and in keeping with an existing Iberian tradition of urban slavery. The carpenters, stonemasons, and blacksmiths who arrived with Tomé de Sousa's founding party in 1549 relied first on Indian assistants, but they probably received their first black slaves the following year when the crown authorized the importation of guinea Negroes for distribution among Salvador residents. In any case, thirty years later when Gabriel Soares de Sousa wrote his detailed description of Brazil, he took the division between slave and free artisans for granted.[12] The early slaves included both Indians, the negros da terra, and blacks, or negros de guinea, but in the long run, the slave population became predominantly black and mulatto in accordance with the general demographic history of the coastal area. By the late seventeenth century, references to slave labor in the city describe negros or pretos of various African origins, crioulos (Brazilian-born blacks), and mulatos. In that period Dampier observed that "All these Trades-men buy Negroes, and train them up to their several employments, which is a great Help to them: and they having

so frequent Trade to Angola, and other Parts of Guinea, they have a constant Supply of Blacks both for their Plantations and Town."[13]

The size of the slave population attached to free artisans is simply impossible to calculate, but it should be kept in mind that the distribution of slaves among trades was most certainly uneven. The tanners left much of their work to slaves and the big builders mobilized large gangs for their projects, but many humble cobblers and tailors probably worked with only one or two young slaves.

The actual work of artisans was organized in different ways depending on the individual trade and the location of work. Tailors, shoemakers, and the more humble smiths manufactured and sold their goods in small shops (tendas) where they resided as well. The wealthier workers in precious metals, the tanners, and others possessed large workshops ("grossas officinas") staffed by assistants and slaves. Here the owner-artisan might serve primarily as an overseer who added finishing touches and supervised the work of others.

Builders and decorators of various types moved from job to job in the city and worked on a contract basis for private individuals, religious institutions, and agencies of the government. For a project requiring the services of several specialists, separate arrangements might be made with each artisan or, alternatively, one main contractor assumed responsibility for an entire undertaking. The usual work contract included cost estimates--specifying so much for flooring, so much per length of iron grating and so forth--and indicated a proposed completion date. Cash incentives or penalties might be written in to avoid

delays. The terms of payment agreed upon by the artisan and his client generally stipulated an advance for the purchase of raw materials as well as supplementary installments at designated intervals, and a final payment upon completion of the project. At that time an inspection team of trade examiners or masters normally checked the finished project for shortcomings and the contractor was obliged to make necessary alterations at his own expense.[14]

The acquisition of raw materials by artisans was worked out on an individual basis so that almost any procedure was possible. Metal workers and tailors who required imported iron, cloth and the like kept accounts with import merchants, or their clients supplied the materials. Carpenters, stonemasons, and tanners drew on Bahia's own considerable resources brought in from the Recôncavo. The carpenters, for example, either purchased lumber from small middlemen who transported it to the city to be sold at regulated prices, or they dealt directly with the landowners and timbermen of Jaguaripe.[15]

Occasionally artisans pooled their capital and skills by forming partnerships, just as did merchants and other Bahians. These partnerships (sociedades) were short-term agreements made for a certain project and dissolved upon completion of that undertaking. One such partnership formed to execute the provisions of a building contract offers some specifics about the organization of work in one branch of the trades. In 1699 two men organized a sociedade to construct the parish church of Saint Peter. A master stonemason and Portuguses immigrant, Domingos Gonsalves da Silva, successfully bid 12,000 cruzados

and 100 milreis for the building contract offered by the royal treasury. The original contract enumerated the particulars of the building plan and made Silva responsible for the tasks of stonemason, carpenter, and joiner. Silva in turn formed a partnership with a local carpenter named Pascoal da Costa Ribeiro for the duration of the project. In the agreement drawn up between the two men, both promised to meet the requirements of the building contract and to share profits and losses equally. Each agreed to supply his share of the raw materials and to provide half the fabrica de escravos, or slave labor, for all construction tasks; if one slave became incapacitated or died, the loss would be absorbed equally by both partners.[16]

In the world of officiais, such building contracts were economic plums. The large sums involved and the opportunities for accumulating some capital set the most competitive builders apart from the hatters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and the like whose trades produced only marginal profits. One other group of craftsmen in a comparable position consisted of the goldsmiths, silversmiths and artists of various kinds whose refined, personalized skills produced expensive luxury itmes. For example, when the sculptor Domingos da Costa Ribeiro executed an altarpiece for the private chapel of a wealthy citizen, the project brought in payment three small houses located in a good district of the city and worth about 2000 cruzados.[17] The high value of the materials worked by goldsmiths and silversmiths placed these craftsmen in a privileged position as did their notorious and profitable illegal activities--the melting down of currency, the falsi-

fication of the metal contents of their works, and their participation in the contraband trade. Tanning may also have been an especially lucative trade because of its industrialized nature and because hides were an important export item.[18]

Corporate Organization

We know relatively little about artisan guilds in Salvador, but it is evident that professional organization and regulation were weak in comparison to Portugal. In the Portuguese cities, trade corporations possessed a dual and frequently overlapping character. On the one hand, members of a particular trade collectively elected trade examiners, set training and quality standards, regulated the acquisition of raw materials, and dealt with other professional matters. On the other hand, the members of one trade or related trades formed brotherhoods (irmandades or confrarias) where they named a separate group of officers to oversee the devotion to a patron saint, supervise the collection and distribution of alms, collaborate in religious and official festivals and see to other religious and social concerns. Since the membership of both bodies was roughly the same, the functions of officers might fuse; separate governing regulations--the Compromisso of the brotherhood, and the Regimento of the guild--might be combined so that the irmandade became a vehicle for conducting professional affairs. This was a general trend, and the course and timing of developments varied by trade.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the mechanical trades in Portugal had come directly under the supervision of the municipal

councils, which began to systematically scrutinize the trade regimentos, review periodic amendments, and intervene directly in the affairs of the craftsmen. The body of legislation which accumulated over the next two centuries added depth and detail to the regulation of corporate and professional life. It should be emphasized, however, that while the council exercised control over the trades, the artisans themselves used the council to sanction and enforce regimentos, to redress grievances, and to protect their collective interests.[19]

The rudiments of the Portuguese system were transferred to Bahia, but in the process of transference and in the Brazilian context, the system lost some of its depth and texture. The irmandades took root in Salvador, but only partially assumed the economic functions of a guild. Furthermore, municipal regulation of the trades was at best haphazard, both because the landed gentry and businessmen who dominated the council only rarely turned their attention to the crafts, and because the artisans themselves never seriously attempted to use the council to promote or protect their interests in such matters as maintaining high professional standards, regulating supplies, or eliminating undesirable competition.

The major and related trades were organized into brotherhoods named in honor of the appropriate patron saint just as they were in Portugal. The appearance of these irmandades is difficult to date because most municipal records prior to 1625 were destroyed; however, several major sodalities existed at least as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. The tailors had their brotherhood of Santa Luzía, the shoemakers and tanners met in their brotherhood of São Crispim,

and the coppersmiths, locksmiths, tinsmiths, and blacksmiths joined together in honor of São Jorge. By 1708, and probably earlier, two other major groups, the stonemasons and carpenters, had established their irmandade of São José in the Salvador cathedral.[20]

The brotherhoods fulfilled certain religious and social functions as they did in Portugal, organizing their members for participation in religious festivals, collecting alms for their religious cults, and so forth. Seated in the cathedral or parish churches, they maintained private chapels for devotion and ostentation. In 1705, for example, the officers of São Crispim commissioned a prominent master to gild the altar of their private chapel in the cathedral. They instructed him to use the "best gold," and to make their altar "as fine as any in the Sé." For this project they promised the considerable sum of 2000 cruzados.[21]

To some extent the brotherhoods served as agencies for the discussion and resolution of professional matters. They assumed one major function of professional guilds when the members selected one or two trade examiners who judged the proficiency of an aspiring artisan to practice his trade and open a shop, inspected shops or work sites, and levied fines for fraud.[22] Until the founding of an irmandade, the selection of examiners was made at an informal gathering which might or might not be supervised by the city council. The seventeenth century records suggest, however, that both the naming of examiners and the licensing were by no means systematized. At the turn of the century many artisans remained unlicensed and some trades did not even have examiners. In 1701, the most prominent tanners in the city could

barely recall ever having elected a judge-examiner of their trade. Even when the council finally attempted to standardize the selection of examiners and licensing in the early eighteenth century, compliance was uneven.[23]

In the absence of comprehensive internal records it is impossible to say how profoundly these organizations affected the economic life of their members beyond naming trade examiners. In fact, there is no way of determining with any certainty whether the brotherhoods simply brought together the elite of each craft or whether their membership and influence embraced a larger proportion of practicing tradesmen. Thus far only one set of internal regulations has been uncovered: the Compromisso e Regimento economico (1708) of the stonemasons and carpenters of the irmandade of São José. This document, similar to its Lisbon counterpart of the same period, indicates that some effort was made to regulate apprenticeship and set standards for master craftsmen.[24] If and when other internal regimentos become available, we may find that certain crafts made a greater attempt to maintain professional standards in the Portuguese tradition than has been apparent so far.

Regardless of the efforts and objectives of the brotherhoods, the scope of regulation and its successful application could proceed only so far without the sanction and enforcement of the city council. And it is in the council records that the organization and regulation of artisan corporations appears especially weak. Because the artisans themselves, unlike their Portuguese counterparts, seldom appealed to the camara for measures to limit competition, assure the maintenance

of professional standards, and regulate access to raw materials, it is reasonable to assume that the council's position reflected, in part, the artisans' lack of concern and desire for tight controls.

In fact, the role of municipal officials vis-a-vis the trades was limited to several rather narrow areas. Very early the council required that all artisans be examined and licensed to practice their trades and open shops, but the ordinance was never enforced until after 1701. At that point the council required that all artisans be licensed and show proof of licensing by registering their cartas with the council scribe. At the same time, to facilitate licensing, the camara began systematically supervising the selection of examiners to avoid the "confusion and disorder" of erratic, private elections. The tradesmen fought the tightening of regulation openly until the crown ordered compliance, but even then the results of reform were mixed. The council usually rubber-stamped nominations for examiners submitted by each group, and while registration of licences increased in comparison to previous years, they still involved only a portion of the artisan community. It is significant that the real force behind this burst of reform was the crusty old council scribe, João de Couros Carneiro, who stood to increase his annual income from registration fees.[25]

The council also required adherence to trade regimentos, to be posted in each establishment for public information. Unlike those registered in Portuguese cities, which touched on all aspects of professional life, the Salvador regimentos were simple price and

wage scales, preiodically adjusted over the years. The regimentos for tailors, dyers, cobblers, coopers, blacksmiths and carpenters, for example, set per-item prices for a variety of articles ranging from a pair of boots to a new hoe, or established the cost of a day of carpentry work. No mention was made of training or quality standards or the regulation of competition. The only reference to raw materials enjoined the blacksmiths to halve the price of an item when the buyer supplied his own iron, reinforcing the general conclusion that artisans did not possess guild monopolies of raw materials.[26]

Limited quality control was imposed in only two rather special instances. The master builders who received municipal contracts for the construction of public fountains and the like could count on having their projects inspected by the trade examiners or a team of masters. If the contractor was judged delinquent in meeting the specifications of the council contract, he made necessary adjustments at his own cost. Other contracts indicate that private citizens made the same provisions in contracting the services of a carpenter or stonemason.[27]

The smiths who worked with precious metals were also singled out for special regulation because they falsified the metal content of artifacts and melted down gold and silver currency for production or contraband purposes. In this case, it was not so much a concern about shoddy production as the meddling with currency supplies and participation in the contraband trade which provoked regulation. With royal prodding, the council gradually attempted to curtail such practices through prohibitive legislation (c. 1693), an impossible attempt to

limit the number of smiths to a mere handful (1709), and the appointment of assayers and the requirement that each goldsmith and silversmith register his mark with the council (1718-1721).[28] Aside from these instances of special regulation, however, the role of the city council remained limited to price-fixing, uneven enforcement of licensing, and the perfunctory approbation of trade examiners.

Local conditions were probably most important in inhibiting the growth of well-regulated guilds, but two external factors deserve mention. In the first place, the Portuguese guilds developed late by European standards so that certain aspects of organization had not completely congealed by the time of transference to Brazil. In particular, varying customs and procedures of apprenticeship did not become standardized in Portugal until the eighteenth century, so that it is hardly surprising that apprenticeship appears highly informal in Salvador. Secondly, a coherent royal policy might have influenced the course and nature of organization and regulation in Brazil, but generally the crown and its delegated authorities simply ignored the crafts and trades. For the most part, the artisan community and local officials were left to themselves to determine policies.[29]

That the Salvador camara and the more articulate artisans favored minimal regulation can probably best be understood in terms of local labor conditions. We possess no statistical information about the size and structure of the labor market, but it is logical to assume that the constant growth of the city during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries engendered a healthy demand for skilled labor. When and if the urban market for a certain trade became saturated, the

dissatisfied artisan could try his luck on the Recôncavo or in the mining communities of the interior. Sheer growth created a situation in which new immigrant artisans did not pose a serious enough threat to established craftsmen to warrant protective measures, and the last thing the newcomers wanted was a regimented system that might hamper their individual careers. To meet the building needs and other demands of an urban population that increased by two-thirds between 1680 and 1720, training and quality standards could be sacrificed for expediency.[30]

Perhaps the most important factor inhibiting the growth of guilds was the widespread use of slave labor for both skilled and unskilled tasks. Instead of drawing primarily on a large pool of free apprentices, journeymen and laborers, the independent artisans purchased and trained slaves to work under them. The reliance on slave labor rendered many of the economic functions of a guild irrelevant. To some degree master craftsmen could control competition by maintaining their potential competitors in a condition of slavery. Furthermore, a whole series of regulations and practices designed to assure high standards of production and preserve a hierarchy of skills and privileges became unnecessary and, as the master attempted to maximize his investment, undesirable.

One example may serve to illustrate the connection between slave labor and professional standards. In 1701, when the city council began supervising the selection of judge-examiners, the tanners (curtidores) were called before the camara to make their nominations. Thirteen persons appeared to challenge even this minimal degree of control

and to argue that they had never had examiners in the past and needed none now. They freely admitted (or feigned) doubts that any among them was sufficiently competent to serve as examiner. They knew little about the trade because all phases of work were left in the hands of their slaves. When pressed about workmanship standards, the tanners responded that they simply settled with dissatisfied clients on an individual basis until the buyer was appeased.[31] Slavery undoubtedly varied in its impact on different trades--tanning was one of the most industrialized and least savory of trades--but this example illustrates its potential for inhibiting regulation and demeaning professional standards.

A final aspect of organization and regulation has to do with the free black and mulatto artisans who competed with the established white artisans for markets and supplies. At least through the first decades of the eighteenth century, the established artisans did not feel sufficiently pressured by this group of competitors to seek regulatory legislation. Unlike their Spanish-American counterparts, they did not lobby for local ordinances relegating non-whites to certain trades or prohibiting blacks and mulattos from owning shops and becoming masters. A law of 1621 prohibited free black and mulatto silversmiths and goldsmiths from working independently of white master craftsmen, but this restriction stands alone.[32] The municipal posturas and regimentos are silent on the subject. The best explanation for the near-absence of discriminatory legislation is probably that it was not needed. Other informal means and measures kept the access of

blacks and mulattos to the artisan elite of masters and men of property at a tolerable level.

A Social and Economic Profile

The first significant migration of artisans from Portugal to Bahia occurred at the time of the founding of Salvador in 1549 when the first governor general brought a contingent of 1000 settlers. To encourage further migration to meet the immediate need for skilled labor in the new capital the crown offered certain tax advantages to tradesmen and craftsmen. No figures exist to measure precisely the volume of fluctuations of migration, but artisans' licenses as well as brotherhood and notarial records show that officiais mecânicos arrived from the realm throughout the colonial period. While the demographic balance among artisans and Bahian society in general tipped increasingly in favor of non-whites, the regular addition of immigrants assured the continued racial heterogeneity of the artisan class as a whole.[33]

Some of these immigrants were transients. They passed only a short time in the city before proceeding on to the mines, or they took up temporary residence for the duration of a particular building project. A number of carpenters, smiths, and caulkers who worked in the shipyards or aboard sailing vessels resided in the port for brief, sporadic periods. On the other hand, many mecânicos settled permanently in Salvador to practice their trades, marry, and raise families. It was from this group of Portuguese immigrants and their white descen-

dants that an artisan elite was formed. Its members did not often achieve wealth or standing comparable to that of businessmen and planters, but among working people in general they stood out as self-employed men of property who possessed their own homes and shops and at least a few slaves. The predominance in this category of men considered to be white by local standards is suggested by the notarial registers, where only about five of every 100 free artisans who registered contracts were labeled black or pardo.[34]

We can learn something of the composition, formation, and activities of the artisan elite by examining a sample of 125 officiais mecânicos who lived and worked in Salvador in the period 1680 to 1725. The sample of 125 individuals, drawn from the larger pool of 469 analyzed in Table 20, includes those artisans who appeared regularly in local sources and about whom the desired biographical data were available. The simple criterion of visibility limited the selection to white males, and the obviously non-white free artisans will be examined separately at another point. The group contains a good cross-section of trades and crafts, with a somewhat heavy proportion of workers of precious metals--a bias to be expected in a survey of the most prominent artisans.

One hundred and fifty years after the founding of Salvador, trans-Atlantic migration clearly continued to be of importance in the formation of the upper level of the crafts and trades. Table 21 shows that of 125 persons, 84, or 67.2% emigrated from Portugal and the Atlantic islands. Like the immigrant merchants, the arriving artisans

TABLE 21

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF RESIDENT SALVADOR ARTISANS
(n=125)

Portugal		80	64.0%
Lisbon		11	
Entre Douro e Minho		53	42.4%
Porto	31		
Braga	16		
Barcelos	2		
Guimarães	2		
Viana do Castelo	2		
Beira		3	
Unspecified		13	
Atlantic Islands		4	3.2%
Brazil		41	32.8%
Salvador		32	
Bahian Recôncavo		2	
Southern Bahia		5	
Pernambuco		2	
Total		125	100.0%

Sources: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livros 1-42. ASCMB: Termos dos irmaos, Livros 2 and 3. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vols. 9.23-9.29.

came principally from northern Portugal. Well over half of the immigrants in the group of permanent settlers and 42.4% of the entire sample came from the northern cities of Porto, Braga, Barcelos, Viana, Guimarães, or their environs.[35]

In contrast to the merchants, Bahia's more prominent artisans included a significant proportion of native sons. Of the 125 persons

in the sample, 41, or 32.8%, were Brazilian-born. Of these artisans, 32 were born in the Salvador, two moved to the city from the Recôncavo, five came from the southern manioc-growing district of the captaincy, and two migrated from Pernambuco. Generally these were the sons of other artisans who had migrated from Portugal and established families in Brazil, or they were the sons of other commoners--small agriculturists, tavernkeepers, and an occasional professional--who had apprenticed their sons to local craftsmen.[36]

It is known for certain that 104 of the 125 artisans in Table 21 married at least once. As the figures in Table 22 demonstrate, a handful of newcomers brought wives from Portugal, but most leading artisans, regardless of origins, married Bahian women. Significantly, by local standards these women were all considered white. Undoubtedly mixed unions between male artisans and black women or pardas were common, but prominent artisans did not seek inter-racial marriages.

TABLE 22

MARITAL STATUS OF 125 RESIDENT ARTISANS

Known to have married			104	83.2%
Origin of wife known	76	(100.0%)		
Portugal	8	(10.5%)	8	
Salvador or Recôncavo	63		63	
Southern Bahia	5	(89.5%)	5	
Origin of wife unknown			28	
No reference to wife encountered			21	16.8%
Total			125	100.0%

Source: See source note for Table 21.

Of the 68 marriages uniting artisans and Bahian women, the family backgrounds of 37 wives could be determined with some confidence. (See Table 23.) While this selection is not large it suggests a clear tendency; even the most successful craftsmen did not generally marry far afield from their own social level. They most often married the daughters of other artisans. When they wed women from commercial or agricultural families, their in-laws were most likely farmers, tavernkeepers, or shopkeepers, rather than mill owners or businessmen.

TABLE 23

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF WIVES OF ARTISANS
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
(n=37)

Artisan	19
Small merchant	8
Father unknown, wife was orphan	4
Tobacco grower	2
Manioc grower	1
Sugar planter	1
Surgeon-general	1
Shipmaster	1
Total	37

Source: See the source note for Table 21.

These marriage patterns, combined with the transference of trades from father to son, created some artisan families in which four, five or more officiais were related. In one example, a silversmith named Manuel Lopes da Cunha migrated from Pernambuco and married in Bahia, where he fathered at least one son who was also trained as a silversmith. The son, Manuel Lopes de Miranda, in turn married the daughter of another silversmith, the Bahian José de Araújo Braga. Through his marriage Miranda became related to a fourth ourives, his brother-in-law Francisco de Santiago.[37] In another family the three Bahian-born Almeida Pacheco brothers Manuel, João, and José all worked as goldsmiths, and João was related by marriage to a silversmith from Porto. In addition, two Almeida Pacheco sisters named Ignacia and Isabel married shoemakers who had come to Salvador from Braga.[38] Such families provided the upper stratum of the artisan community with a certain amount of continuity and cohesiveness that was probably not typical of either the mass of officiais or the Bahian lower class in general.[39]

Selective marriages served the important function of maintaining a (technically) white artisan elite and enabled artisans to consolidate their modest properties. This in turn facilitated access to sources of capital usually monopolized by merchants and landowners. For example, marriage aided the tanner António Fernandes Jorge in becoming a man of some substance in the lower city. In 1705 his union with the daughter of an established tanner brought a comfortable dowry of various personal items and a stone house in Agua dos Meninos

worth 2000 cruzados. A year later he secured a 1000-cruzado loan from the prestigious Third Order of São Francisco when his father-in-law, José da Costa Lourinham, agreed to co-sign the transaction. Within nine years António Fernandes Jorge was apparently well-established on his own. Still calling himself curtidor, he negotiated a large loan of 2000 cruzados from a local merchant and offered four stone sobrados located in the parish of Pilar for collateral.[40]

The moderately successful artisan generally owned at least a moradinha or casa terrea, a small one-story dwelling where he lived and worked, while an exceptional craftsman might reside in a separate two-story stone sobrado in a good residential neighborhood. Local streets and landmarks such as the Rua dos Cortumes (Tanners' Row) and the Fonte dos Sapateiros (Cobblers' Fountain) suggest that some geographical concentration of trades had occurred, but for the most part the artisans lived and worked in various parts of the city. Many inhabited the lower city parishes of Conceição da Praia and Pilar, along with merchants and mariners. A sizable number lived in the upper city parish of São Pedro. Still others resided in the less densely populated suburban parishes and it would seem that then as now each neighborhood had its own carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. The most obvious planned geographical concentration of craftsmen was promoted later in the eighteenth cnetury when the governor ordered that the goldsmiths and silversmiths who were "dispersed among various areas of the city and outlying suburbs" be relocated near the main plaza in the upper city and on one street in Conceição da Praia in

the lower city.[41]

When a successful practice or a fortunate marriage brought surplus capital that permitted outside economic interests, the artisans usually invested in urban real estate and in small suburban sitios. The latter were small holdings with fruit trees, a modest residence, some milk cows and perhaps a manioc plot. A few men, more often than not from the construction trades, actually acquired sizable urban holdings. They built and purchased moradas de casas of various qualities and might own a dozen or more separate properties at a time. This kind of activity was particularly suitable for entrepreneurs with relatively limited capital, restricted connections and little geographic mobility. It represented a reasonably secure if unspectacular investment and was easily managed. The income from rents approximated that earned from money placed on loan and, more important, urban housing was solid collateral for obtaining credit.

In one artisan investment of this type, the locksmith João da Rocha Mendes in 1705 purchased two small houses and the land on which they were situated on the Ladeiro de Carmo. At the time of sale he paid 430 milreis in cash. A month later he used the same two houses to secure a cash loan of 400 milreis "for business." Since he resided elsewhere, the investment houses probably brought in a small yearly income from rents sufficient to cover the 6¼% interest on the loan. After two years had passed, João sold the houses separately for 300 milreis each. Thus from an initial investment of 430 milreis he realized a profit of 170 milreis (minus the cost of improvements, if

any) plus whatever advantages accrued from the cash loan he obtained.[43]

On occasion artisans embarked upon various kinds of mercantile ventures. They placed money on loan, co-signed loans for one another, and served as bondsmen for petty bureaucrats and accused criminals. A handful of large builders and workers of precious metals invested directly in the important trading circuits of the early eighteenth century. To indicate the kinds of interests developed by the more ambitious mecanicos we can examine the activities of master carpenter Gabriel Ribeiro.

Ribeiro had been trained and licensed to practice his trade in the Portuguese city of Porto. In the late seventeenth century he migrated to Bahia where he married a white woman named Marta Soares. It is highly relevant to Gabriel Ribeiro's career that he was not a small carpenter who did piece work, but was a carpinteiro de casas, a builder of houses and something of an architect. In the 1690's he worked mostly for private citizens and was engaged in a large project involving the construction of nineteen houses commissioned by José Garcia de Araújo, one of the city's more prominent citizens and a senhor de engenho on the Recôncavo. By 1701, in the estimate of local officials, Ribeiro counted among the seven or eight outstanding master carpenters in the city. As a mark of his reputation, in 1703 the Santa Casa selected him to draw up plans for their secular retirement house.

By 1705 Gabriel had acquired properties of his own, including a residence on the outskirts of the city and at least twelve moradas

de casas which he purchased or built on lands leased from the Monastery of São Bento and from a private citizen. That same year he used his real estate holdings to obtain a large loan of 1200 milreis "for business" from a Salvador entrepreneur and mill owner and he made some important commercial investments. Together he and a local joiner, Domingos da Silva, purchased the sumaca São Francisco Xavier loaded and ready to sail for Rio. Gabriel also joined two businessmen in the purchase of another sumaca bound for the African coast and for Pernambuco. The same craft sailed under one partner's named on various slaving voyages over the next ten years. It is not known how lucrative these mercantile ventures proved to be for Gabriel Ribeiro, but in the following years he obtained more loans and was solvent enough to co-sign several transactions for prominent citizens.

Even after he diversified his economic interests, Gabriel Ribeiro continued to practice his trade. As late as four years before his death, he still referred to himself as master carpenter. Typically, his social activities and public role were confined to areas reserved for the more prominent artisans. He never obtained a militia patent nor did he serve as a city magistrate or councilman, but in 1709 the master craftsmen of the city chose him mester, one of three officials elected every three years to represent the artisans in local government. He participated in the brotherhood of his trade and in 1698 gained admittance to the Santa Casa as a brother of minor standing, a status he retained throughout his life.[44]

Although he diversified his interests and accumulated some capital and property, Gabriel Ribeiro remained an artisan throughout his life, and it is generally true that the mecânicos who engaged in commercial pursuits with some regularity retained their essential identities as artisans as the "pharmacist who also does business," the "master carpenter who lives by his business," a "joiner who does business now," and so forth. However, now and then a master artisan did put aside his initial trade to become a full-time merchant or landowner.

One such mecânico was Domingos de Oliveira Lopes, who began his Bahian career as a shoemaker but eventually became a controversial local entrepreneur. Lopes dabbled in the wine trade and purchased a share of the livestock branch of the 1695-1698 dízimo (royal tithe) contract. He was best known as one of the city's most prosperous marchantes, middlemen who purchased livestock at the cattle fairs held outside the city and supplied Salvador's butcher shops with meat under municipal contracts. Always a target of criticism, the marchantes manipulated prices and supplies and illegally butchered and sold meat outside the terms of their contracts. In 1703 the Salvador council voted to exclude Lopes from bidding for future contracts because of his "notoriously prejudicial" practices, but royal officials overrode this decision. Lopes had managed to win the favor of the governor, who considered him to be "one of the most capable and diligent of marchantes."[45]

Another artisan, Ignacio Teixeira Rangel, was one of the most

prominent and active stonemasons and engineers in the city in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By the 1730's, however, he concentrated his attention on his holdings in the southern part of the captaincy, which he had developed himself. One of the few artisans to receive a sesmaria, he was granted three square leagues of land along the Jequiriçá River in 1730 and the following year he received a neighboring tract of land one and one-half square leagues in size. As a reward for opening the area and to help secure Rangel's fazenda and slaves from attack, in 1733 the governor awarded him administrative authority over the Indians in the district.[46]

Despite their entrepreneurial activities, few artisans became full-fledged businessmen of any consequence or, put another way, the local artisan community did not constitute a major source of new merchants and businessmen. Furthermore, few artisans obtained sesmarias or became large planters. This contrasts with the highly visible and abundant cases of mobility for merchants who emigrated from Portugal to dominate the commercial sector and join the landed elite with some regularity. For the man who began his career in Bahia by practicing a trade, the transition to large mercantile enterprises and commercial agriculture was normally too big a jump to make in a single lifetime.

Several factors limited the economic, and in consequence, the social advancement of artisans. In the first place, apart from the most enterprising workers of precious metals and the larger tanners and builders, few tradesmen could hope to accumulate enough capital from their respective trades to make large investments in other acti-

vities. Furthermore they had difficulty competing for available sources of cash loans. In a sample of 300 loans registered between 1698 and 1715 by lenders and borrowers of all kinds, artisans garnered only 6.1% of the total amount of money placed on loan. The lion's share passed to agriculturists and merchants. Further evidence of the same trend can be found in the distribution of funds placed on loan by the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, the city's single most important lending institution. In a 1727 accounting of all loans outstanding, less than 3% of the total amount of 374.124 milreis was in the hands of artisans. It should be kept in mind that officiais comprised an important segment of that brotherhood's membership, yet the Santa Casa, like lenders in general, preferred to place its resources at the disposal of planters and businessmen.[47]

Those artisans who did obtain large loans for business and other investments were men of the type we have discussed--white masters from certain trades who had managed to acquire or build houses which they could use for collateral. Most artisans lacked sufficient property to secure substantial loans and, although the signature of a reputable, propertied co-signer was sometimes enough to obtain capital, here too many mecânicos suffered a disadvantage. They remained outside the credit networks built on ties of kinship and long-term business association that monopolized so much capital.

A final factor that may have affected the economic advancement of artisans can be inferred from what we know about the structure of the mercantile community. First generation merchants dominated

the more lucrative branches of commerce and as they became established in Salvador they tended to select their agents and partners from among other immigrant merchants. In certain areas where the number of participants was restricted to begin with such as tax-farming and the Mina Coast trade, this selection policy could easily have worked against local artisans, and their sons as well. Intentional or not, the exclusion of artisans from major mercantile enterprises, combined with the marginal incomes generated by most trades, poor access to credit, and limited family connections, sealed off important avenues of economic mobility.[48]

If limited financial resources and the structure of commerce prevented most artisans from moving out of the trades in a generation, intermarriage among small entrepreneurs and the transfer of skills from father to son did provide some continuity and cohesiveness among artisan families, as we have seen. Family stability and modest prosperity in turn laid the foundations for gradual forms of social mobility. For example, the cabinetmaker Jasinto Ferreira Feio, who served in the important post of juíz do povo (people's tribune), was sufficiently prosperous to support one son in the priesthood and educate another at Coimbra--presumably with royal permission. When he died he left his widow at least two urban sobrados which he had renovated as well as a small residence and agricultural plot on the edge of town. His Portuguese-educated son, Dr. António de Faria da Fonseca became something of a social success. In 1696 the son gained admittance to the Santa Casa as a brother of major standing and by 1710 had been named one of the

twelve lawyers privileged to practice before the high court of Brazil. In 1715 he obtained a seat on the regular city council despite some grumbling. And in 1726 António's son Jasinto Ferreira Feio da Faria, named after his artisan grandfather, received the coveted title of Lieutenant-colonel of the militia cavalry.[49]

In another example of stability and gradual mobility, the master shoemaker Francisco Gonsalves Vilaça, who received a dowry of real estate when he married Catarina Delgado, managed to provide the same dowry for his daughter when she married a dyer named Manuel Correa. A second daughter wed a goldsmith, but a son, António Gonsalves Vilaca, and the husband of a third daughter were men of sufficient means and reputation to enter the Santa Casa as brothers of high standing--a clear indication that they were not artisans. In addition, Francisco and Catarina were able to establish a clerical patrimony for a nephew reared in their home.[50]

While immigration from Portugal and selected marriages helped perpetuate a white elite among artisans, other processes placed an increasing number of blacks and especially pardos in the lower economic ranks. One of the most common forms of entry was self-purchase by the enslaved skilled workers. Because the members of certain African tribes brought to the New World a tradition of competence in such fields as metalworking and because the Portuguese artisans regularly trained slaves to work under them, the Bahian slaves had ample opportunity to acquire a reasonable degree of proficiency in one or more trades. A marketable skill in turn made it possible at times to save

or borrow the price of freedom.[51]

In one example João Pires, a pardo slave and stonemason, made arrangements with Gabriel da Rocha Moutinho to purchase his freedom for 100 milreis. In this particular case, the slave João did not actually possess the price of his manumission so the contract took the form of a standard loan agreement in which João borrowed 100 milreis at the yearly interest rate of 6¼%. Declaring that he possessed no property and could provide no fiador, the slave promised to work at his trade with any master on any project designated by Moutinho until the debt was settled.[52] At an approximate earning power of 320 reis per day, a reasonable estimate for this period, it would take 311 workdays to satisfy the purchase price alone. Assuming his work was regular and he accepted the meanest possible living standard--little more than the meal included with day wages and his various worksites for shelter--João conceivably settled his obligation in about a year.[53]

In other instances the conditions of freedom proved more onerous. When the nobleman Francisco Barretto de Aragão agreed to supply 200 milreis so that Eusébio da Fonseca could purchase his liberty from his master, the latter became obligated to serve Aragão "on his mills, in the city, on the sertão, or wherever he chooses" for twelve years.[54] It should be noted that neither João Pires not Eusébio da Fonseca had to save his purchase price in bits and pieces while formally bound in slavery (though Fonseca's actual status is somewhat difficult to evaluate). A slave artisan valued at between 100 and 200 milreis could easily spend six to twelve of his most pro-

ductive years saving for self-purchase under the best of circumstances, that is, assuming he could regularly work for himself one day a week at standard wages.[55]

Of course self-purchase was not the only mechanism that created a body of free black and pardo artisans in Salvador. Other pardo officiais were removed by a generation or more from slavery. Free blacks and pardos presumably transferred their skills to their own sons, and at least a few pardo tradesmen were the sons of Portuguese men who found the trades and crafts a suitable place for their illegitimate offspring of mixed blood. This was true in the case of a Portuguese licentiate named André Coelho Sallas who fathered two pardo sons by Catarina Guedes de Brito, herself a parda. Both illegitimate sons, Ignácio and Salvador Coelho Sallas, received training in the trades, the former in stonemasonry and the other in shoemaking. The lawyer Sallas also provided for their mother, whom he never married, with at least one small valuable piece of urban real estate. At her death Catarina left this property to Ignácio and Salvador, who sold it in 1720 for 220 milreis cash. This was not a fortune, but it gave each a modest stake and perhaps allowed each to purchase a slave apprentice.[56]

Certainly the trades offered one of the few avenues of mobility for non-white males in their long journey from slavery. But it is doubtful that many ex-slaves and their immediate descendants attained an economic position comparable to that of the white artisans discussed at length above. It is true that in the eighteenth

century several pardos could be found among the prestigious goldsmiths and silversmiths who owned their own establishments.[57] And a few pardos became self-sufficient enough to buy urban properties. The tailor Pedro Rodrigues Pestana owned at least one sizable urban lot, and a carpenter named António Vas Pereira invested in land and a single-story dwelling worth 300 milreis. Yet another pardo carpenter, João Pereira de Sousa, owned at least two stone sobrados in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Destêrro.[58] However, on the whole such examples of economic independence on the part of men clearly identified as non-white are not abundant.

We have noted earlier that only about 5% of the artisans who registered contracts to name procuradores, buy or sell property, negotiate loans, or sign work agreements were non-white. In addition, only one or two pardos appear in the early eighteenth-century lists of artisans' licenses--records which offer a rough measure of self-sufficiency since they acknowledged minimal competence and conferred the right to open a shop.[59] Although the licenses are too incomplete a source in the first part of the century to provide firm evidence about non-white shopowners, the trend suggested is corroborated by later, more dependable records. Russell-Wood has found that relatively few pardos qualified for licenses in the second half of the eighteenth century. Those who did tended to be concentrated in the more humble trades such as shoemaking and tailoring.[60]

Throughout the eighteenth century the limitations that custom,policy, and eocnomic competition placed on the careers of black

and pardo officiais were only overcome with great difficulty. Economic independence required a reputation and a market, capital for a shop and slaves, and good business connections. In the case of the freedman, his original condition of slavery provided none of these things and was more likely to handicap him additionally with minimal training and a freedom debt to settle. For blacks and pardos in general other obstacles existed. The Bahian elite preferred well-known Portuguese masters for their various building and decorating projects, while the city council and other institutions normally offered their building and repair contracts to persons of Portuguese descent. In addition, the pardo officiais never served as judge-examiners of their trades nor did they hold other offices of influence within the artisan community that might be used to economic advantage. And finally, moneylenders of all kinds rarely placed their resources at the disposal of black and pardo artisans.[61] All of these factors made it difficult for blacks and pardos to progress beyond the position of day laborer, employee, or itinerant within the trades.

Status and Poltical Role

Artisans, and particularly the most prosperous craftsmen, played an active part in the social and political life of the city, but their public role was confined to certain activities. Iberian tradition placed the official, trained to live by his manual labor, among the ignoble, and the stigma clung to him and prevented him and, technically, even his sons and grandsons from obtaining prestigious titles, offices

and degrees without a special dispensation. The Portuguese colonizers carried this attitude and similar restrictions to Brazil. Certainly prosperity or outstanding services could dull the public memory about humble origins, and individuals did overcome the stigma attached to their fathers' careers in the trades. This was to be expected in a new, colonial society where even Bahia's distinguished planter, councilman, and historian Sebastiao da Rocha Pita was the grandson of a mecânico. For practicing artisans in general, however, both law and custom restricted their offices and activities to certain well-defined areas.[62]

When the municipal council called the various elements of the population for public deliberation they followed Portuguese tradition in summoning the nobility (nobreza), the citizen-electors (homens bons or cidadões), the merchants (mercancia), and the people, or povo. The artisans always entered this last and lowest category, along with vendors, tavernkeepers, butchers and other plebeian inhabitants of the city who sent their representative or appeared personally at council sessions when their special interests were at stake. Further underlining the separate and lower status of the officiais mecânicos were the relatively inferior positions assigned to them in local government, the brotherhoods and the militia.

The white artisan who assumed a public role or whose professional success brought some form of recognition normally received an appointment related to his trade. In a typical case, the crown granted the proprietorship of public works inspector to the stone-

mason Julião de Sousa, one of the "most capable" of his trade group. The office included certain emoluments and conferred some power among builders, but it was not a large social promotion.[63] Within the structure of local government artisans generally occupied certain low-status appointive posts. After 1675 the municipal council annually appointed two sanitation officers (almotacéis da limpeza) for the city, and more often than not they picked artisans. In 1720, for example, these offices fell to master shoemaker Francisco José and master tinsmith João Aires de Oliveira. In addition, the block inspectors periodically named to police the city's parishes at night were often officiais.[64] The law specifically prohibited artisans from serving as almotacé or market inspector, generally the first office held by a newly designated citizen before being entered on the roll of persons eligible for regular council membership. The exclusion of artisans from the highest offices of local government remained complete throughout the period 1680-1729. I encountered no artisan who served as procurador, vereador, or juíz ordinario during that that time.[65]

Professional status also largely determined the role of artisans in the numerous religious sodalities organized in Salvador. As we have noted previously the artisans possessed their own confrarias composed of members of the same or related trades. Here an individual could achieve some influence among his peers by election to his brotherhood's governing board or by serving as judge-examiner. Certain prominent artisans occupied this position regularly, such as Baltesar Coelho who oversaw the carpentry trade almost continuously between

1710 and 1722, and Cristóvão Marques, judge-examiner of the shoemakers on at least three separate occasions. The craftsmen did join certain brotherhoods unrelated to their trades. The parish chapters of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament admitted artisans, and the latter gained entry to the presitigious Santa Casa where they were relegated, nevertheless, to inferior status as brothers of minor standing.[66]

In addition, officiais filled the lowest positions in both urban and rural militia units where they served as common soldiers. The caulkers and carpenters who worked in the shipyards formed a company of their own, while free blacks and pardos joined segregated companies within each militia regiment. Any other official enrolled in the unit organized for his home parish.[67] Furthermore, a good many artisans served as paid soldiers in the city garrison, which was about 400-strong at the turn of the century. The council scribe complained that "nearly all artisans are soldiers" and that they claimed exemptions from paying licensing fees because of their military service. In his concern for his own income from fees the old scribe probably exaggerated the point, but his complaint does suggest that soldiering was frequently combined with the practice of a trade. Certainly the recruiting instructions for the early eighteenth century indicate that artisans along with tavernkeepers, vendors, and vagrants, were prime targets for conscription.[68]

The most unique and influential position assumed by artisans in the period 1641-1713 was that of juíz do povo, or people's tribune. The Salvador council established this controversial institution, with

royal acquiescence, in the early 1640's and modeled it with some minor adaptations after its Portuguese forerunner. Every three years the members of the major trade groups gathered to name twelve of their more articulate and prominent colleagues to serve as electors. These men in turn selected a juíz do povo, two assistants, called mesteres, and a scribe to represent the povo before the city council.[69]

The men who occupied the posts of juíz and mester proceeded from the white artisan elite described above. Generally mature, married men, they were the most economically independent and qualified of artisans and frequently served as trade examiners before being chosen as representatives to the city council. A few typical officers were: Gabriel Ribeiro (mester, 1709-1712), João Ferreira de Sousa (mester, 1687-1690), Bartolomeu Martins (mester, 1700-1703), and Jasinto Ferreira Feio (mester, 1667-1670; juíz do povo, 1670-1673 and 1675-1678). João Ferreira de Sousa and Gabriel Ribeiro were both master carpenters with lucrative trades that enabled them to invest in urban real estate and the slave trade.[70] The cooper Bartolomeu Martins, who served as judge-examiner of his trade on at least three occasions, also owned urban real estate. His investments made it possible for him to establish clerical patrimonies and place two sons in the priesthood.[71] And finally, the cabinetmaker Jasinto Ferreira Feio, introduced at an earlier point, was a propertied artisan whose two sons and grandson made their way in Bahia outside the crafts and trades. These examples suggest that while the institution of the juíz do povo provided Salvador's plebeian population with some representation in local government and

policy-making, its officers were drawn not from the poor and underprivileged but from the ranks of the propertied, ambitious, and socially mobile artisans.

In essence, the most important function of the juíz do povo and his assistants was that of lobbyist. They met with local inhabitants to hear grievances and petitions and then formulated position papers and concrete proposals to be considered by the full council. Quite early the regular camara members restricted the deliberative and voting prerogatives of the juíz do povo and his lieutenants to matters which concerned them directly. Even so they retained a voice in policy-making covering a wide range of economic issues. The council minutes indicate that taxation, food and commodity shortages, corruption and malpractice on the part of local officials and contractors, public improvements, and currency shortages drew much of the attention and energy of the juíz. In addition, he participated in the periodic updating of municipal ordinances of all kinds, including those determining price and wage scales.[72]

At no time could the juíz do povo override the wishes of the landed and mercanitle elite that dominated the council, but he frequently employed a series of delaying tactics to put off the execution of unpopular measures. In fact it was the use of such tactics, rather than matters of substance, that caused most of the tension that existed between the regular council and the juíz do povo. This conflict came to a head in 1710 when the councilmen excluded the juíz from all deliberations, even those considered to be within his province. He could

present his petitions at meetings, but had to leave immediately after.[73] This break-down in communication came at an unfortunate time as we will see.

Most of the issues that caught the attention of the juíz do povo concerned the public interest in some way, and he could count on the support of some, if not all, of the regular council members. Even after the demise of the popular judgeship the Salvador camara noted that the juíz had brought many useful matters to their attention that otherwise would have been ignored.[74] The energectic lobbying of certain juízes not only taxed the patience of the regular council, but has led at least one historian to romanticize the juíz do povo as the "voice of the proletariat."[75] Certainly the institution gave the common people the closest thing they ever had to a say in government in Bahia and the juíz often brought focus and urgency to economic problems such as food shortages and new taxes that weighted most heavily on the poor. On the other hand, at no time did the juíz do povo and his mesteres exclusively serve the interests of the poor, the unpropertied, or the black and pardo population to challenge the economic and political power of the Bahian elite.

On several occasions the juíz do povo did arouse great controversy in Bahia. Significantly, in these instances he usually became the agent of special interest groups or became embroiled in conflict between powerful interests. In 1646, for example, the juíz and mesteres proposed ending the local manufacture of aguardente, claiming that the widespread consumption of this cheap beverage was

responsible for much of the street violence and thievery in the city. They further argued that the resulting increase in wine imports would increase tax revenues. This last argument suggests that the juíz was acting on behalf of wine merchants who, in fact, submitted their own proposal for banning the local brew a few weeks later. The suggested measures naturally evoked a strong, and ultimately successful, protest by those sugar planters and lambique owners who manufactured aguardente. Thus the juíz became involved in what was basically a conflict between certain planter and mercantile elements. It may be added that his proposal did little to serve the interests of the common people, who were the major consumers of aguardente.[76]

Another juíz do povo, Francisco Rodrigues Braga, caused a great stir in high circles in 1661 when he appealed to the crown to restrict the construction of new sugar mills. A large number of Bahia's prominent citizens and sugar planters denied the need for this restriction, and in the end the crown respected their wishes. As it turned out, Braga was ignorant of the issue involved and had been the dupe of one powerful planter and citizen, Bernardo Vieira Ravasco, who, depending on one's point of view, was either an opportunist seeking to limit his own competition, or one of the most far-sighted of planters.[77]

The most complex and controversial political actions of the juíz and mesteres concerned their involvement in two urban demonstrations--one of which became violent--in the closing months of 1711.[78] On October 19 of that year "most" of the merchants (homens de negocio) in Salvador gathered in the main plaza along with the juíz do povo and

mesteres to protest a new ten percent import tax. This duty, to be paid by merchants, was already in effect in Recife and Rio de Janeiro, and the crown had extended coverage to Bahia in February of 1711. It was believed that the new governor who arrived in Bahia in October would execute the new tax provision.[79]

By itself the import duty might not have caused an extraordinary outcry, but it followed in the wake of other unpopular economic measures including a new tax on Angola and Mina slaves destined for the mines (again, to be paid by merchants) and a large hike in the price of salt sold by a monopoly contractor named Manuel Dias Filgueira. The salt issue had been festering for over a year and had caused bad feelingsbetween the juíz do povo and the city council. Just months after the camara had decided to exclude the juíz from their deliberations they further rebuffed him by rejecting his demand to suspend execution of the salt price increase pending an appeal to Lisbon.[80]

Several rumors circulating in the city heightened the sense of economic oppression. One unfounded rumor charged that the unpopular salt contractor Manuel Dias Filgueira would also administer--and profit from--the new ten percent duty.[81] Another report, later dismissed by the Lisbon Conselho Ultramarino, indicated that the crown was about to place all of the captaincy's booming trade in tobacco under a monopoly contract administered by merchants in the metropolis. This rumor alone was probably enough to unhinge Bahia's mercantile community, whose control of the tobacco and slave trade between Africa and Brazil was a foundation of commercial prosperity in the early eighteenth century.[82]

The governor later described two gatherings in October, one on the 17th and one on the 19th.[83] The first ended peacefully when the governor met with the juíz do povo and informed him that he had yet to receive his instructions concerning the new taxes, but the meeting on the 19th ended in violence. The exact intentions of the juíz and the merchants who met together that day are unclear. They may have been organizing an appeal to Lisbon or they may have been seeking another audience with the governor. But their public meeting soon attracted a large crowd that included not only merchants, but mariners, artisans, soldiers and the urban riff-raff. At some point the crowd got out of hand and a mob sacked the house of the hated salt contractor Manuel Dias Filgueira, as well as those of his business associates Manuel Gomes Lisboa and João Carnoto Vilas Boas. The intervention of the generally respected archbishop and the ex-governor brought the turmoil to an end, but before the day was over the protestors had won both a promise not to execute the new taxes and a general pardon.

Emboldened by this capitulation, a group of merchants and the juíz do povo again attempted to force the hand of the governor on December 2. On this occasion they wanted him to rapidly organize a large squadron to go to the defense of Rio de Janeiro, which was under attack by the French. As it turned out aid became unnecessary; word reached Bahia that Rio had been freed. In contrast to the riot of October 19, this second demonstration was not violent and it was widely viewed as a noble, if over-zealous, patriotic gesture. Nevertheless, the unpredictable governor, still stinging from his humiliation in

October, exiled and fined three merchants identified as the leaders of the movement to free Rio. Fortunately for the three men involved, Domingos da Costa Guimarães, Luis Chafet, and Domingos Gomes, the sentences were later commuted.

The events in Bahia, which followed on the heels of violent outbreaks in other parts of Brazil, alarmed royal officials in Lisbon. The Bahian conflict was particularly disconcerting to the members of the Conselho Ultramarino because unlike the "War of the Mascates" in Pernambuco, and the"War of the Emboabas" in the mining area, which originated in strife between rival socio-economic groups, the turmoil of October was first and foremost a challenge to royal authority. However, Lisbon officials understood that this was not a general challenge but one instigated by a few individuals. The Conselho members directed their wrath, not at the instigators or even the juíz do povo, but at the governor, whom they thought had badly managed the whole affair. They felt he should have used diplomacy and tact to prepare and persuade the Bahians to accept the new economic measures. If and when that failed he should have acted immediately and firmly to isolate and punish the instigators of the first and more serious demonstration.[84]

It was the local city council in Salvador that singled out the juíz do povo for punishment. Uneasy about their own relationship with the juíz and anxious to disassociate themselves from any suggestion of insubordination, the 1712 council requested that the posts of juíz do povo and mesteres be abolished. In February of 1713 a willing crown granted their request. Two years later, however, a calmer Sal-

vador council asked Lisbon to reinstate the juíz and mesteres. They wrote that their colleagues of 1712 had unfairly blamed the juíz do povo for inciting the two demonstrations in 1711. Everyone in Salvador knew that the people's judge had been forced to participate against his will and, they argued, the real troublemakers had been the fleet merchants (homens da frota) who did not want to pay the import duty on their merchandise. Unmoved by this argument, Lisbon officials did not even bother to respond to the petition, and the controversial institution was never restored in Salvador.[85]

It is likely that both the 1712 and 1715 council views on the role of the juíz do povo in 1711, one assigning full responsibility and the other proclaiming innocence, were exaggerations. I suspect that here, as on other occasions, the juíz became the agent or collaborator of a special interest group, in this case the merchants, and was ultimately swept up by events. The highly visible role of the juíz, the tension between him and the regular council, and the mob attack on the residence of Manuel Dias Filgueira, who was at once a symbol of wealth and a royal agent, suggest a popular protest against authority and against the rich. Certainly the events of 1711 brought to a head many grievances simmering in the colonial capital. But above all the unrest grew out of the disaffection of Bahia's dynamic, prosperous mercantile community, who saw their interests threatened by increased royal control and taxation. They resented the new slave tax and import duty and feared that the crown was about to interfere in their expanding and lucrative slave and tobacco trading circuit. Even their "patriotic"

dispute with the governor about sending aid to Rio de Janeiro reflected a concern with their own economic interests. In this period more than twenty ships went from Bahia to Rio several times a year, and a free Rio gave Bahian merchants an important degree of flexibility in selecting markets for their slaves and merchandise.[86]

We know the names of seven men, aside from the juíz do povo and mesteres, who played some part in the two demonstrations of October 17-19 and December 2. A major figure on the streets in October was a merchant named João Figueredo da Costa, whose nickname, "o maneta," was ultimately given to the October riot. He had resided in the city at least since 1705, called himself homem de negocio, and owned at least two small slaving vessels.[87] In 1714 the victimized salt contractor, Manuel Dias Filgueira, accused businessman João Lopes Fiuza and treasury scribe and slave trader Francisco Dias Amaral of inciting the attack upon his property. Their specific role is unclear but I suspect they may have leaked the news about the new taxes and spread inflamatory rumors about Filgueira. Amaral, as treasury scribe, was in a particularly good position to do so. Fiuza, it may be remembered, was not only one of Bahia's most successful early eighteenth-century merchants, but he had also married into the old Monis Barretto family (two years prior to the "Maneta") and eventually settled on the Recôncavo as a senhor de engenho. Amaral too had married the daughter of a sugar planter and was, or eventually became, a mill owner on the Recôncavo.[88]

Four other men identified as principals in the December 2 demonstration were also homens de negocio: Domingos da Costa Guimarães,

Antônio da Rocha Branco, Luis Chafet, and Domingos Gomes. Rocha Branco and Costa Guimarães, at least, had substantial investments in the Mina Coast trade and both had settled in Salvador permanently and married Bahian women.[89]

Clearly the "Maneta" of October and the December movement to aid Rio de Janeiro, which challenged the new colonial governor and through him royal authority in general, were inspired and largely engineered by Salvador merchants. The sources tend to categorize all mercantile participants, pejoratively, as homens da frota, that is, transient fleet merchants. However, there is no doubt that members of Bahia's resident community of homens de negocio were deeply implicated. Although these instigators inadvertently unleashed the fury of the mob, they belonged to Bahia's most prosperous socio-economic group in this period, and they were reacting to restrictions on their promising commercial ventures. It is not surprising that the juíz do povo and mesteres became involved with these merchants. In the past other juízes had collaborated with special interest groups. And, although we know little about the last juíz do povo, Cristóvão de Sá, we do know that officers like him were usually selected from among the more substantial and ambitious artisans--men likely to share the interests and identify with the concerns of merchants.

Apart from the council petition of 1715, there appears to have been no major outcry at the loss of popular representation on the local camara. Either the urban povo was too disorganized to register a meaningful protest, or they felt no real attachment to the juíz and

mesteres. Their silence perhaps reflects the social and economic gulf between the white, propertied artisan elite and the bulk of free urban day laborers, small vendors, and the urban poor. For their part, the merchants resumed business as usual. They had no real need for the juíz do povo as a formal lobbyist; they had always had a variety of means for articulating their special interests, and in 1726 they organized their own commercial caucus for this purpose. The tobacco and slave trade was not reorganized, as some had feared it might be, and the new import tax was eventually established, aided by the persuasive influence of business leaders such as landed merchant José de Araújo Rocha.[90]

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In the early eighteenth century Salvador contained a vigorous community of tradesmen and craftsmen who provided a variety of goods and services for the city's inhabitants with a minimal degree of municipal intervention or self-regulation. The upper level of this class, composed of the most economically independent masters who managed their own businesses was dominated by men of first or second-generation Portuguese origins who tended to marry Bahian women from backgrounds similar to their own. The artisan community also included skilled and semi-skilled black slaves and free day laborers who were likely to be manumitted slaves and the pardo descendants of slaves.

The most successful artisans, particularly the builders and goldsmiths, were small entrepreneurs who often managed to diversify their economic interests by acquiring real estate and investing in com-

merce. However, most did so while continuing to practice their trades, and on the whole movement out of the category of artisan in one generation was not common. Because the commercial establishment was always dominated by immigrants, it seems likely that the transition from artisanry to large-scale commerce over two generations was nearly as difficult. Instead, a prosperous craftsman probably did one of several things in order to foster family mobility: (1) he or his sons left Salvador for the interior; (2) he educated his sons for the priesthood or a career in the law; or (3) he passed his skills on to his sons and tried to provide his daughters with substantial dowries to marry merchants or small landowners.

The officiais mecânicos actively participated in Bahia's social and political life, but their pursuits were closely related to their trades. The most controversial and influential public post reserved for artisans was that of juíz do povo. The position usually fell to the most economically independent and ambitious of artisans--men who were likely to identify with important special interest groups rather than to exclusively promote or consistently defend the concerns of the city's unpropertied and impoverished elements.

Logically the crafts and trades should have provided a stepping-stone for the social and economic advancement of the free descendants of slaves. To some extent they did. Certainly the move from slave to free artisan was no small achievement. However, for free trained blacks and pardos (who continued to be identified as mobility was cut off rather abruptly at the level of day laborer, while

the upper stratum was replenished by Portuguese immigrants. Immigrant and Bahian-born persons of Portuguese background together monopolized the limited sources of credit available to artisans as well as the most lucrative work contracts; they alone received useful offices and appointments; and their marriages were contracted to further exclude pardos from their ranks. The organization of the trades and crafts in this way and the on-going preference for slave labor (which reduced employment opportunities for the free population) had much to do with the formation of that "immense population of free Brazilians, crowded in miserable shacks, and living on almost nothing on the outskirts of Salvador," described by Tollenare in the early nineteenth century.[91]

NOTES

1. Dampier's Voyages, II, 385.

2. For example see: Carlos Ott, Formação e evolução étnica da cidade do Salvador (2 vols.; Bahia, 1955-57). Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, chap. III. A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," in Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World, ed. by David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, pp. 84-133. The few specialized studies include: Marieta Alves, Mestres ourives de ouro e prata da Bahia (Bahia, 1962). Waldemar Mattos, ed., Registro das marcas dos ensaiadores do ouro e prata da cidade do Salvador 1725-1845 (Salvador, 1962). Both of these works deal exclusively with goldsmiths and silversmiths. For a study of the artisans who worked in the Bahian shipyards see: José Roberto Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a Carreira da India (Sao Paulo, 1968), esp. chap. V. The work of Jesuit artisans is described in Serafim Leite, Artes e ofícios dos Jesuitas no Brasil 1549-1760 (Lisbon, 1953).

3. I used the notarial registers rather than the artisans' licenses registered with the city council to compile this sample. Because of irregular licensing the artisans licenses were biased in favor of a few trades; certain important groups, particularly the carpenters, stonemasons, and tanners, seldom registered licenses. Carlos Ott analyzed the professional distribution of 163 artisans for the period 1655-1816. His sample, small for so long a period, is unaccountably shy of tailors and shoemakers and is limited to immigrants only. Formação e evolução étnica, I, 46-47; II, 202-211.

4. For the variety of items produced locally see the price lists in AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, fs. 18v-22v and passim. For the work of goldsmiths and the mecânicos connected with the shipyards see the sources cited in note 2.

5. Waldemar Mattos, ed., Registro das marcas, pp. 18-29.

6. See chap. II for plantation artisans. Apparently the tilemakers, brickmakers and potters also resided for the most part on the Recôncavo, and their goods were brought to the city and distributed by middlemen. The olarias, where such artisans worked, were sometimes attached to large estates. Senhor de engenho Pedro Fernandes Aranha and cane grower and cattleman Diogo Alvares Campos both possessed olarias on their properties. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1. APB-SJ: Notas, Cachoeira, Livro 8, 1717, fs. 108-109. PAN, XXVII, 1722, p. 149.

7. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, fs. 2-25v. Ruy, História da camara, pp. 122-123, 177, 193.

8. This discussion is based on the use of terms in contemporary sources and the characteristics of individual artisans whose biographies were assembled for this chapter.

9. Here as elsewhere this white category may have included some persons of mixed racial descent who were no longer designated pardo in public records. The trend of white dominance was apparently maintained throughout the eighteenth century. See: Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," p. 103.

10. Vilhena, A Bahia no século xviii, I, 137-138.

11. The renting out of slaves undoubtedly developed very early in order to maximize investments in slaves whose services were not required constantly. These rentals were too mundane to warrant public registration, but the practice is easily documented. In 1719, for example, the goldsmith Santos Marques owed Manuel da Silva Lopes 46 mil-reis for the rental of some slaves. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 32, 1719, fs. 316-318. At the time of his death, Recife's outstanding master stonemason and merchant Antônio Fernandes de Matos owned 98 ladino slaves and his accounts included obligations for the rental of these slaves. Gonsalves de Mello, Antônio Fernandes de Matos. This type of slave, the negro de aluguel, was the prototype for the negro de ganho, a slave owned by any kind of master but specifically trained as a carrier, an artisan, or a courier, and rented out to provide a regular source of income. The grooming of negros de ganho and their development as a sizable group among slaves is usually associated with the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but both the social type and the practice probably appeared long before. See: Carneiro, Ladinos e crioulos.

12. Soares de Sousa, Tratado descritivo do Brasil, pp. 342-347. Azevedo, Povoamento, pp. 134-137.

13. Dampier's Voyages, II, 386.

14. For typical work contracts see: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9. 1693, fs. 74v-76. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 128v-130. Livro 21, 1705, fs. 159-159v. Livro 21A, 1708, fs. 52-53. Livro 22, 1707, fs. 224v-226.

15. See note 14 and AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, 1672, f. 20; 1710, fs. 52v-53v, 56v-57; 1716, fs. 91v, 95v. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1704, fs. 109v-113.

16. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 245-246.

17. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 34v-36. Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 25-26.

18. Antonil wrote that 50,000 meyos de sola, or the treated hides from 25,000 head of cattle, were exported annually from Bahia. In addition, the rolls of tobacco exported to Portugal and Africa were wrapped in hides. Cultura e opulência, pp. 480-488.

19. Marcello Caetano, "A antiga organização dos mesteres da cidade de Lisboa," in Franz-Paul Langhans, As corporações dos ofícios mecânicos. Subsídios para a sua história. (2 vols.; Lisbon, 1943, 1946) I, ix-lxxv. For relevant legislation for each trade and craft, including the regimentos and their amendments, see both volumes.

20. Jesuit correspondence of 1614 refers to the recent establishment of a "confraria dos oficiais mecânicos" seated in the Jesuit College. Leite, História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, V, 9-10. For specialized brotherhoods see: Atas da Camara, II, pp. 75, 233-236, 243. Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a Carreira da India, p. 133 and note 51.

21. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 21, 1705, fs. 159-159v.

22. In 1644 for example, the judge-examiner of the locksmiths was empowered to "examine, issue licenses, and make condemnations." Atas da Camara, II, p. 236.

23. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 181v-183, fs. 216v-218v. Even after 1701 only the members of certain trades registered with any regularity. AMB: Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1690-1712. Vol. 145.1, 1713-1725.

24. Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a Carreira da India, p. 133 and note 51. Langhans, As corporações dos ofícios mecânicos, I, 273-282.

25. Atas da Camara, I, 1625, pp. 5-6. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 197-197v, 216v-218v. Vol. 9.25, 1706, fs. 281v-283, 302-302v, 312-313. Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1690-1712. Vol. 145.1, 1713-1725. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1704, fs. 102-104.

26. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, 1672, fs. 18v-22v; 1710, fs. 56-64v.

27. For example see: AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.25, 1706, fs. 310v-312. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 27, 1713, fs. 255v-256v.

28. Mattos, ed. Registro das marcas, pp. xviii-xxv. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.26, 1709, fs. 42-43. Registro de Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1718, f. 51.

29. For an analysis of Portuguese development see: Caetano, "A antiga organização dos mesteres da cidade de Lisboa," pp. ix-lxxv.

30. The city council estimated that the city's population had increased by two-thirds in the forty years prior to 1717. Cited in Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 178.

31. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 181v-183.

32. Alves, Mestres ourives, p. 7. It should be emphasized that the focus here is on local regulation. For the situation in Spanish America see: Manuel Carrera Stampa, Los gremios Mexicanos (México, 1954). Héctor Samayoa Guevara, Los gremios de artesanos en la ciudad de Guatemala 1524-1821 (Guatemala, 1962).

33. Azevedo, Povoamento, pp. 134-137. Ott, Formação e evolução étnica, I, 46-49. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," pp. 86 ff.

34. Only 22 of the 469 artisans anlyzed in Table 20 were described as negros or pardos.

35. See Table 16, p. 226 for the origins of merchants resident in Bahia.

36. For example, the shoemaker João Bautista was the son of a cooper and married the daughter of a tinsmith. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1685, fs. 701-702; 1691, fs. 809-810. Livro 3, 1706, f. 224. The painter José Nunes de Couto was the son of silversmith Miguel Nunes de Couto. Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1708, f. 282. The Bahian Licenciado Manuel Rodrigues apprenticed his three sons António, Domingos, and João to be, respectively, a dourador, an ourives de prata, and a pintor. Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1699, f. 58; 1699, f. 56; 1710, f. 221.

37. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1703, fs. 157v, 158v; 1726, f. 525; 1728, f. 558. Mattos, ed., Registro das marcas, p. 15.

38. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1677, fs. 433-434; 1683, fs. 599-600; 1684, fs. 651-652; 1687, fs. 745-746. Livro 3, 1698, f. 28.

39. For a discussion of low marriage rates in one colonial city and the relationship between marriage and status see: Donald Ramos, "Marriage and Family in Colonial Vila Rica," HAHR, LV (May 1975), 200-225.

40. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 181v-183. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18A, 1702, fs. 169-169v. Livro 21, 1705, fs. 80v-81. Livro 22, 1706, fs. 52v-53v. Livro 30, 1715, fs. 160v-161v.

41. Residence patterns were determined from notarial entries. Alves, Mestres ourives, p. 8.

42. For example: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 29, 1713, fs. 168-170. Livro 31, 1715, fs. 123-125, 171-172v. The sculptor Domingos da Costa Ribeiro left his widow at least 13 moradas de casas. Notas, Capital, Livro 23, 1709, fs. 143-144.

43. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 20, 1705, fs. 160-163, 192-193v. Livro 22, 1707, fs. 172v-175.

44. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1698, f. 39. AMB: Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1699, f. 10v. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 167v-169. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1705, fs. 34-34v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 11, 1697, fs. 121v-124v. Livro 20, 1705, fs. 144v-147. Livro 21, 1705, fs. 74v-76, fs. 104v-105v.

45. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 130, 1703, fs. 80v-82. Ordens Régias, Vol. 7, 1704, docs. 257, 258, fs. 114-115. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 10, 1697, fs. 120v-121. Livro 12, 1698, fs. 50v-51. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 30-31. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 191v-192v. Livro 18, 1701, fs. 87v-88v. AMB: Entradas de Navios, Vol. 56.1, 1701, f. 34; 1707, fs. 120-120v.

46. For Rangel's career see together: ASCMB: Termos de irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 941-942. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 15, 1699, fs. 216-216v. Livro 23, 1709, fs. 31v-32v. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 165-166. DHBNRJ, LXV, 1701, pp. 29-30; LXXV, 1733, p. 224. PAN, XXVII, 1730, p. 158; 1731, p. 159.

47. See Table 5, p. 75 and Table 6, p. 76.

48. For a discussion of merchant recruitment see chap. VI. The general conclusion about the limitations of artisan mobility is based not only on the case studies gathered for this chapter but those assembled for merchants and planters as well.

49. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1696, f. 1; 1716, f. 387v. Atas da Camara, IV, 1667, 282-283; V, 1670, 17-18; 1675, 156-158. AMB: Circulares da Camara, Vol. 33.1, 1715, f. 53. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 1, 1664, fs. 189v-191. Livro 9, 1694, fs. 139-141v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 57v-58v. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 21, doc. 106a, 1727.

50. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 9, 1694, fs. 178-180. Livro 12, 1698, fs. 160v-161. ASCMB: Livro 2, 1677, fs. 421-422. Livro 3, 1705, f. 206; 1723, f. 479v; 1724, f. 504v. In another example, João de Almeida Pacheco of the Almeida Pacheco family of goldsmiths

married a daughter to André Marques, a businessman with slaving interests who became Provedor of the Santa Casa. See note 38. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1718, f. 407v. Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, p. 121.

51. Carneiro, Ladinos e crioulos, pp. 42-44.

52. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 36, 1721, f. 270-271.

53. In 1710 a daily wage of 320 reis plus one meal was paid to carpenter day laborers. It is reasonable to assume that a stonemason received a comparable wage. AMB: Posturas, Vol. 119.1, 1710, f. 56v.

54. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, LIvro 15, 1699, fs. 177-178.

55. Again, this estimate is based on an earning power of 320 reis per day.

56. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 34, 1720, fs. 21-23.

57. In 1719 the city council requested a list of all the "officiais pardos que ha nesta cidade e termo com tendas publicas," specifically referring to goldmsiths and silversmiths. AMB: Portarias, Vol. 116.1, 1719, fs. 100v-101.

58. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 3, 1681, fs. 113v-115v. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 207v-210. Livro 17, 1700, fs. 18v-20. Livro 34, 1720, fs. 162v-163v.

59. AMB: Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1690-1712. Vol. 145.1, 1713-1725.

60. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," pp. 102-103.

61. Of 600-odd transactions making up two samples of loans registered in Bahia, persons identified as pardos obtained capital in only four instances; of these four only one borrower was a craftsman. Based on the transactions summarized in Tables 5 and 6, pp. 75-76.

62. For a discussion and examples of these attitudes see: Fonseca, "Bacharéis Brasileiros," pp. 132 ff. For Rocha Pita's background see his História, preface by Pedro Calmon, p. vi.

63. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 126.3, 1682, fs. 20-20v.

64. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 121.1, 1675, fs. 184-185. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.29, 1720, fs. 47v-48. Vol. 9.30, 1736, fs. 122v-123.

65. AMB: Provisões Reais, Vol. 121.1, 1618, fs. 216v-218. For the composition of the city council in this period see Table 13, pp. 140-141.

66. AMB: Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.4, 1710, 1714, 1717, 1720, 1721, fs. 116-116v. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1701, fs. 167v-169; 1702, fs. 229v-230. Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1707, fs. 18v-19. For the role of the artisans in the Santa Casa see Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists, passim.

67. Amaral Lapa, A Bahia e a Carreira da India, pp. 134-135. AMB: Provisões do Governo e Senado, Vol. 125.6, 1668, fs. 66-67v. Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.2, 1688, fs. 203v-206. A thorough examination of the patents issued to militia officers in the period 1686-1725 yielded only a rare example or two of the promotion of a practicing artisan to the position of Alferes or Capitão. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vols. 124.2-124.7. Ofícios do Governo, Vol. 111.2.

68. AMB: Ofícios do Governo, Vol. 111.2, 1718, fs. 173-173v. DHBNRJ, LXXVI, 1735, 155-156.

69. Affonso Ruy, "Os Juízes do Povo e sua influência político-social no cenario Baiano do século xvii," RIHGBa, LXXVII (1952), 142-153. Boxer, Portuguese Society in the Tropics, p. 76.

70. Gabriel Ribeiro: see note 44. João Ferreira de Sousa: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 4, 1684, fs. 170v-172. Livro 13, 1698, fs. 236-237v. Livro 15, 1699, fs. 40-41. Livro 22A, 1708, fs. 41-43v. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1709-1713, fs. 86v-87, 118-120, 233v-234, 282v-283, 288-289. Atas da Camara, VI, 1687, pp. 129-130.

71. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 3, 1696, f. 11. AMB: Cartas de Examinações de Officiais, Vol. 146.1, 1690, f. 1. Provisões do Senado, Vol. 127.4, 1706, 1709, fs. 89-89v, 108v-109. Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 138v-141. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 18, 1701, fs. 61-62. Livro 33, 1720, fs. 314v-315v.

72. Ruy, "Os Juízes do Povo e sua influência," p. 145. For a good sampling of the activities of the juíz do povo see: Atas da Camara, VI, 1687, 80-82; 1692, 185-186. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.24, 1700, fs. 126v-130, 138v-141v; 1701, fs. 172v-175. Vol. 9.25, 1704, fs. 128v-132v, 180-182, 210-214v; 1706, fs. 272v-274v, 288-289v; 1707, fs. 378v-381v. Vol. 9.26, 1710, fs. 95-96v.

73. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.26, 1710, fs. 67-67v.

74. APB-SH: Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1715, fs. 2-3.

75. Ruy, "Os Juízes do Povo e sua influência," pp. 142-153.

76. Atas da Camara, II, 11 Aug. 1646, pp. 312-313; 28 Sep. 1646, p. 315; 25 Oct. 1646, pp. 321-326.

77. Albuquerque, "Liberdade e limitação dos engenhos de açúcar," pp. 491-499. It will be remembered from chap.II that twenty years later planter sentiment had shifted in favor of limited controls on inland expansion.

78. An early narrative comes to us from planter, citizen, and historian Sebastião da Rocha Pita who resided in the city at that time and wrote his account in the 1720's. História, pp. 436-445. Some new documents were introduced by Alberto Lamego, "Os motins do 'Maneta' na Bahia," RIHGBa, LV (1929), 357-366. A good account may be found in Pedro Calmon, História do Brasil (7 vols.; Rio, 1959), III, 992-998.

79. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 436-437. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 27 Jul. 1712, pp. 41-42, 50.

80. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 8, doc. 66a, 27 Feb. 1711. Lamego, "Os motins do 'Maneta' na Bahia," pp. 360-361. Calmon, História do Brasil, III, 993, note 5.

81. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 437-438. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 27 Jul. 1712, p. 42.

82. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 15 April 1711, pp. 17-27. A disturbing proposal to reorganize the slave trade and the trade to the mines in a manner unfavorable to Bahian mercantile interests was also circulating in the city in 1711-1712. The plan met strong opposition from businessmen and the city council. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, fs. 177v-199v.

83. Lamego, "Os motins do 'Maneta' na Bahia," pp. 359-360. Rocha Pita placed all events on the 19th. História, pp. 436-437.

84. DHBNRJ, XCVI, consulta of 27 Jul. 1712, pp. 41-53; consulta of 12 Jan. 1713, pp. 98-100. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 437-443. AMB: Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1715, f. 46.

85. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 8, doc. 30, 1713. Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1715, fs. 2-3. AMB: Cartas de S. M., Vol. 29.1, 1713, f. 12. Rocha Pita, História, pp. 443-444. Rocha Pita, a member of the 1712 council, applauded the abolition.

86. AMB: Atas da Camara, Vol. 9.25, 1704, fs. 133v-136v; 1705, fs. 215-218v.

87. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1707, 1711, fs. 66-66v, 228-228v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 24, 1710, fs. 3-4. Cachoeira, Livro 5, 1710, fs. 88v-89 (escrito of 1705). Rocha Pita, História, pp. 437, 440.

88. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol. 8, doc. 88, 1714. For Fiuza's biography see pp. 124-128. Amaral was the son of João Dias da Costa from Rio who had purchased the proprietorship of Treasury scribe and then passed it to his son Francisco Dias Amaral. Amaral married the daughter of militia captain, alderman, and cane grower Francisco de Araújo Brito. He eventually acquired a sugar mill and also engaged in the slave trade. He asked that the proprietorship of Treasury scribe pass to his son João Dias da Costa, named for his grandfather. In the 1750's a João Dias da Costa, presumably the son of Amaral, owned an engenho on the Recôncavo. APB-SH: Ordens Régias, Vol.12, doc. 31, 1718. Cartas do Senado, Vol. 131, 1716, fs. 16v-18. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1679, fs. 491-493; 1687, fs. 721-722. Livro 3, 1714, f. 377. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 35, 1721, fs. 75v-82. AMB: Provisões do Governo, Vol. 124.7, 1712, f. 199v. Caldas, Notícia geral p. 434.

89. See together: DHBNRJ, LIII, 1712, p. 160; XCVI, consulta of 12 Jan, 1713, pp. 98-100. ASCMB: Termos dos irmãos, Livro 2, 1695, fs. 955-956. Livro 3, 1728, f. 555. APB-SH: Alvarás, Vol. 440, 1706-1711, fs. 49-49v, 58v-59v, 91v-92v, 119-119v. Provisões, Vol. 276, 1720-1724, fs. 118v-119v, 163-164, 227v-228v. APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 12, 1698, fs. 243-245. Livro 22A, 1708, fs. 41-43v. Livro 24, 1710, fs. 134-136. Livro 26, 1712, fs. 142v-143v. Livro 29, 1713, fs. 30-30v.

90. On the merchants see chap. VI. In 1719 the Overseas Council recommended that Colonel José da Araújo Rocha be granted knighthood in the Order of Christ for his militia services, the loan of a ship, and his reliability administering major contracts. They added that his influence in persuading merchants to accept the repugnant import tax had been an important factor in its successful imposition. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino: Livros de Registo do Conselho Ultramarino. Códice 87, (Merces gerais, 1703-1730), doc. of 7 Nov. 1719, fs. 287-288. (Bancroft Microfilm Collection.) Rocha was a permanent resident of Bahia who had contracted a good local marriage, had acquired land, and joined the socio-political elite as an alderman, militia colonel, and president of the Santa Casa. For his biographical data see chap. VI, passim.

91. Tollenare, Notas Dominicais, p. 326

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the middle colonial years the society of Salvador and the Bahian Recôncavo was both complex and dynamic. To be sure, this was a slave society, and in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries roughly half of the region's inhabitants were bound in servitude. But the simplistic and static masters and slaves characterization of social organization serves best as a starting point for a more detailed and subtle analysis of social structure. Within the sugar and tobacco sectors, commerce, and the crafts and trades, there also existed a full range of social types. Status for these groups was determined by no single criterion, but rather by the interplay of function, wealth, origins, and race.

At the top of Bahian society the sugar mill owners, the largest landowners, and the richest Salvador businessmen formed a local socio-economic elite. The elite families, many of whom were connected by multiple marriage alliances, controlled the lion's share of the region's productive enterprises and they also dominated those institutions and offices that carried prestige and power: key proprietary offices, high command posts in the militia, the municipal council of Salvador, and, eventually, the vila councils. Their range of influence encompassed both the city and the countryside. The residence patterns of

elite members varied according to their financial resources, their personal preferences, and other considerations, but the richest among them maintained residences both in Salvador and the Recôncavo while others maintained contact with the city and with scattered estates through a network of relatives and agents.

The Bahian elite was by no means a closed aristocracy in this period and it probably never was. To be sure, it contained a core of first families whose prominence in all spheres dated, in some instances, from the founding of Salvador. This element survived the vicissitudes of the essentially unstable sugar economy by planning inheritances and marriages, diversifying economic interests, cultivating good credit ties, and lobbying for royal protection and favors. At the same time, however, both economic instability and an apparently pragmatic attitude on the part of long-established land and sugar magnates, particularly with regard to marriage, assured the regular entry of newcomers into the elite. The large number of immigrants and sons of immigrants among turn-of-the-century senhores de engenho is ample proof of this process.

Wealthy immigrant businessmen, in particular, regularly penetrated the elite in a socio-political as well as an economic sense. This was not a new phenomenon, but was a continuation of a process at work in the earlier seventeenth century and described by Smith in his study of merchants.[1] In the early eighteenth century certain changes of degree did occur within this elite. Men of immigrant and mercantile origins came to assume a more prominent role in the Salvador council as well as in the prestigious Santa Casa, and a few of these entered the

high militia command. Yet these changes represented neither a decline in planter influence nor a fundamental alteration in the composition and formation of the elite. Planters continued to dominate the militia and to exercise political power through the newly created vila camaras, while the majority of merchants who sat on the council and assumed high militia posts did so after becoming planters and landowners.

The identities and activities of mill owners, sesmaria recipients, and businessmen overlapped. The great land barons of the interior and the coastal senhores de engenho were often--although not always--the same people. The combination of economic functions on the part of such individuals suggests the need to use stereotypes with care. While Bahia's native-born landed aristocrats may have disdained commerce in certain forms, some among them did not hesitate to enter such speculative ventures as the slave trade, tax-farming, and the trade to the mines. On the other hand, while many immigrant merchants may have viewed their Bahian careers primarily as a means for furthering their fortunes in Portugal, others settled in the captaincy permanently and invested their commercial earnings in land development, tobacco farming, and the rebuilding of sugar estates.

Furthermore, the merging of landed and commercial, rural and urban interests offers an important perspective on the complex relationship between merchants and planters in general. The writings of some historians have emphasized an essentially antagonistic relationship, while more recent research has tended to focus on shared interests and mutual dependence rather than on conflict.[2] The biographies gathered for this period, which show a degree of intermarriage between merchants

and planters as well as common economic interests, support the latter view. Personal ties and interests, together with the dependence of all on a healthy export economy, at least balanced--if they did not cancel--the potentially hostile divisions between merchants and planters in their roles as creditors and debtors, buyers and sellers, and as immigrants and native sons. It is of some significance that the motivations and circumstances surrounding the Maneta disturbance of 1711 did not amount to an eruption of merchant-planter hostilities--unlike the War of the Mascates in Pernambuco in the same period.

The process of merchant mobility, which deprived the mercantile community of its logical leaders, was perhaps the most important factor mitigating the division of planters and merchants into two irreconcilably opposed groups. Rather than founding powerful merchant dynasties in Salvador, the richest and most influential businessmen joined an established elite. Thus in general, conflicts which occurred between merchants and planters tended to center around specific issues such as pricing and credit rather than arising from fundamental differences in values and aspirations.

* * *

In developing the theme of diversity and differentiation in Bahian society one objective of this study has been to focus attention on intermediary groups which were neither part of the local elite nor part of the region's large slave population. A number of intermediary groups, though by no means all--small merchants, subsistence farmers, sugar technicians, and cane growers--have been introduced, but particular at-

tention has been directed to two little-studied groups: the tobacco growers of Cachoeira and the artisans of Salvador.

The formation of a numerically important class of tobacco farmers quite separate from sugar planters was one of the important developments of the mid-colonial period. Like the cane growers, the lavradores de tabaco relied on slave labor and were tied to an export market. In contrast to the cane growers, however, the tobacco planters achieved a degree of self-sufficiency in that they raised food crops and cattle as well as producing tobacco for the commercial market. Furthermore, because of the relative simplicity and low cost of processing, many tobacco producers completely finished their own produce for export.

The designation tobacco grower applied to men of widely varying wealth. The category included not only the land barons of Cachoeira, but independent smallholders, prosperous tenants, and marginal producers. The evidence suggests that in this early, expansive stage of development movement from tenant to independent landowner was common. Individuals of varying backgrounds became tobacco growers: food producers long established on the Recôncavo, immigrant farmers, military veterans of the expeditions of the 1660s and 1670s, large and small merchants, and the descendants of slaves. For such persons the combination of low costs, economic diversification, easy land terms, and processing and marketing alternatives provided, if not great wealth, at least a measure of flexibility and independence.

More research is needed to assess the long-term evolution of this sector, and, specifically, to determine whether it was able to maintain its early vitality and diversity or whether unreliable markets

and demographic growth made this increasingly a reserve of poor tenants and marginal producers. In any case, it is apparent that by 1700 poor landless subsistence farmers (colonos) were already present on the marginal lands of the sitios in the tobacco district.[3]

The free artisans of Salvador comprised another vital intermediary social type in Bahia. Here as in other settled areas of the Ibero-American world artisans transferred and adapted Old World skills to the New, supervised necessary construction, and provided essential goods and services. The structure of the artisan sector was complex, but the most practical distinction separated the artisan-owners who managed their own affairs from the free day laborers and slaves they supervised.

Of all groups studied the artisans possessed the most tangible corporate identity, expressed in the organization of craft brotherhoods, in the designation of trade examiners, and in their special role in local government. Even so, on the whole, guild organization was weak, both because local officials and the leading artisans were not committed to a tightly-controlled corporate system, and because the heavy reliance on slave labor rendered many of the economic functions of a guild unnecessary or undesirable.

The upper echelon of the crafts and trades constituted a propertied and managerial elite among Bahia's free working population in general. The incomes generated by individual professions varied greatly, but men in the building trades, tanners, and those who worked with precious metals managed to accumulate some capital through industry

and selective marriages. They invested in urban real estate, they acquired small agricultural plots, and a few placed their earnings in the risky but lucrative slave trade. With few exceptions, however, they generally retained their identities and associations as artisans.

The richest and most highly respected masters of each craft and trade were usually men of Portuguese descent. However, immigrants did not monopolize the upper level of artisanry as they did commerce, and one detects in this period a sizable group of native-born mecânicos who, in some cases, passed their skills from father to son. The group as a whole was replenished continually by Portuguese immigrants and retained a degree of exclusivity and continuity through intermarriage.

Additional research should also further refine our understanding of intermediary social elements. Commercial food producers, fishermen, timbermen, and the like merit more attention than they have received. One large group which might be studied in the future is the heterogeneous class of middle-ranking professionals and semi-professionals that included lawyers, solicitors, petty bureaucrats, physicians, career military men, and priests. Like the landowners and merchants, professionals also assumed dual or multiple roles in society, so a preliminary question regards the degree to which professionals were simply an appendage of the region's major socio-economic groups. A number of examples indicate that merchants and artisans, as well as elite families, placed sons in the professions, but far more biographies are needed in order to formulate conclusions about the socio-economic background of professionals and semi-professionals, about the preponderance of immigrants or native

sons in various categories, and about the presence or absence of professional families.

* * *

This discussion has devoted only passing attention to slaves, and no comprehensive treatment has been given to the free blacks and pardos as such. Ideally a study of non-white social elements might be based both on a census quantifying the distribution of blacks and pardos among occupational groups and on a substantial number of case studies elaborating the processes which shaped and limited distribution. In the absence of even a rough census for this early period an analysis of this sort proved impossible. Nevertheless, the present examination of the major free socio-economic categories provides some generalizations about how blacks and pardos made their way in the Brazilian colonial world.

Blacks and pardos performed specialized and unskilled tasks in all branches of the economy. Although one must write of social mobility with great caution, movement of various sorts, however slow and selective, did occur. Even among slaves there developed an important degree of functional differentiation. On the sugar plantations, for example, slaves were not only field laborers, they also rose to the middle levels of the plantation hierarchy where they worked as artisans and sugar technicians. The position of individual slaves was determined by length of time in Brazil, acculturation, and selection for specialized training. Furthermore, a degree of acculturation and the acquisition of a marketable skill were crucial to the slave and his descendants in that they provided

at least the possibility of accumulating capital for self-purchase, as well as a means of support if and when freedom was attained.

Among both slaves and freedmen the children of mixed unions generally fared better than blacks. While acculturation and racial attitudes contributed to this distinction, the handful of pardo careers presented here shows that the intervention of the Portuguese parent--in securing manumission, in supervising training, or in providing property and financial assistance--was a decisive factor that shaped the prospects of young pardos.

Free blacks and pardos, insofar as they were identified as such, comprised part of the skilled labor force in the plantation zone as well as in the urban crafts and trades. They worked most often as day laborers, but a few individuals achieved sufficient wealth and independence to own their own shops. Pardos and blacks were present in commerce, but like the native born in general, they were effectively excluded from the upper stratum of large retailers and businessmen. Thus they were most likely to be street vendors, peddlers, grocers and tavernkeepers. On the Recôncavo non-whites rarely appeared as property owners or even tenants in the sugar zone, but they made a place for themselves as small and intermediate agriculturists in Cachoeira, where a number of pardos raised cattle and cultivated manioc and tobacco on their own sitios.

In general the gains made by free blacks and pardos occurred in those areas of the economic structure where the capital requirements were low. As the descendant of a slave, the black or pardo was unlikely to inherit the capital to finance large enterprises. Furthermore, the marriage patterns of the leading sugar planters, merchants, and artisans

examined here suggest that these groups pursued exclusivistic policies which closed off marriage alliances as an important channel of mobility or source of wealth for blacks and pardos. One could argue indefinitely about whether such restrictions were motivated by economic or racial considerations, but the effect was the same. Other limits to advancement beyond a change in function or the accumulation of some wealth were unquestionably racial: Blacks and pardos were not entered on the electoral rolls and they had no corporate identity within local government. They were excluded from the most prestigious sodalities and were segregated in their own brotherhoods, as well as in separate militia units.

* * *

The theme of mobility has been touched upon at various points in this study and it is appropriate here to draw together some of the principal observations presented. It has not been possible to evaluate mobility in any quantitative sense and, in a slave society, it would be difficult to argue that any number of examples amounted to something more than selective social change. Therefore, the primary objective in exploring this theme has been to indicate the areas, channels, and limits of socio-economic mobility in a general way.

Movement within the social structure took various forms, but most often it involved a change or expansion of economic functions which might or might not reflect new wealth or independence. Examples of movement of this sort are available for every level of society: slaves purchased their freedom and began working for wages; day laborers became

propertied artisans; tenant farmers acquired holdings of their own; shopkeepers, commercial agents, and small merchants became businessmen; cane growers acquired sugar mills; merchants became cane growers, tobacco planters, and mill owners, and so forth.

A change in economic function might initiate an advancement in socio-political status if certain other conditions were met; specifically if an individual was accepted as being of Portuguese and Christian descent and had accumulated sufficient wealth. The most spectacular instances of this process were among merchants who, despite obscure backgrounds and immigrant status, settled permanently and married well in Bahia, acquired land, and gained admittance into Bahia's inner circle of prestige and power.

In the absence of great wealth, changing functions brought, at most, only modest modifications in social standing in a single lifetime. Changes of this sort were rather subtle and difficult to measure and time precisely. For example, simply settling down brought some stability and respectability to mercantile agents, mariners, military veterans and others who arrived in Bahia as itinerants. Within commerce, some change in status occurred when a retailer left off working behind the counter and hired his own clerks and agents.

Major changes in socio-political status were most difficult for Bahia's free working population, both because manual labor by definition imparted low status in Bahia as throughout the Iberian world, and because most trades did not generate enough income to enable the industrious to buy status through services and marriage in the same way a prosperous merchant might. As we have seen even the most entre-

preneurial among artisans seldom altered their essential identities as artisans, although their acquisition of trade-related offices and titles set them apart from the working population to some degree.

In general the principal vehicles of mobility were commerce, marriage, and royal favor. Commerce was the surest way of accumulating capital which in turn enhanced marriage prospects and financed the kinds of services that won royal favor. Marriage might bring further wealth or strategic property as well as useful social connections. Outstanding services to the crown brought honors and economic rewards in the form of knighthood, proprietary offices, land grants, and militia posts. Although commerce may be isolated as an initial source of wealth and a catalyst of mobility, in general it is almost impossible to separate the channels of economic from socio-political mobility or the sources of wealth from the sources of status and power.

The same factors that provided mobility for certain individuals constituted impenetrable barriers for large numbers of Bahians. Some initial status and/or wealth was a prerequisite for an advantageous marriage or for the performance of services. And the domination of commerce by successive generations of Portuguese immigrants who selected their successors from among their young relatives and friends in Portugal excluded Bahians of all backgrounds from this important avenue of advancement. It may be that the sons of planters and landowners did not, in any case, desire demanding, itinerant mercantile careers, but commerce might have provided the ambitious sons of local artisans and small farmers a means for getting ahead; this it clearly did not do.

* * *

This examination of Bahia's mid-colonial planters, merchants, and artisans complements a growing number of regional studies of Spanish-American colonial society.[4] Certainly more research is needed before conclusions can be formulated about the universality of categories and processes, but the repetition of certain socio-economic types throughout the Ibero-American world is striking. Where slavery was introduced one finds comparable distinctions among slaves based on functions, acculturation, and racial background. In addition, the artisan community appears to have been structured in much the same way in urban areas: divided between a managerial elite of artisans, usually of Iberian descent, and the slaves and free day laborers of mixed racial heritage they supervised. The more prominent craftsmen and tradesmen were typically small entrepreneurs who sometimes managed to accumulate capital for investments in real estate or commerce while retaining their artisan identities.[5]

In all studies of merchants one confronts a certain inevitability of social types: the immigrant apprentice, the shopkeeper as distinct from the large export-import merchant, and the ubiquitous and peripatetic dealers and peddlers. The domination of the upper level of commerce by successive waves of peninsular immigrants can now be judged a common feature of social organization in colonial Latin America. And while the degree of integration of immigrant merchants into established local societies varied by time and place, their rapid acceptance into the upper social echelon was common at least in parts of New Spain, New Granada, and Chile, as well as in Bahia, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, the careers of the most successful men of commerce followed much the same pattern: The young immigrant began as a well-placed

apprentice and, through his industry and connections, pursued a variety of economic activities including investments in land and agriculture. He contracted a good local marriage, eventually acquired social and political standing, and tended to direct his own sons into non-mercantile careers.[6]

The study of local elites yields some important common features. By the mid-colonial years membership was based not so much on a single defining criterion as on a combination of factors such as wealth, eligibility for office-holding, and a blood or marriage tie to the region's founding families. The entrepreneurial character of Bahia's leading citizens had its parallel in Mexico and Chile, where landowners, miners, and merchants tended to combine their interests. Regardless of selection procedures, militias and town councils tended to be dominated by leading economic interests so that local economic and socio-political elites were identical or nearly so. Furthermore, in both Portuguese and Spanish America the cities and towns functioned as political, administrative and commercial centers which served and bound together both urban and rural areas. Accordingly the social contacts, economic concerns, and political activities of elite members encompassed both town and countryside.

Recent investigations share a common theme in underlining the instability of elite membership and the regular influx of new members through much the same channels--marriage, commerce or mining, and royal favor. The present study has emphasized continuity as well as change within the Bahian elite, but just as the Bahian sugar plantation, for structural, financial, and other reasons, provided an uncertain economic

base for ruling families over a long period of time, the Spanish American estate proved a weak foundation for the formation of a stable landed gentry or nobility.[7]

The presence of common socio-economic types, the repetition of career patterns, and similarities in elite formation in different regional contexts are several of numerous subjects that can be explored profitably to compare social structures and the nature and degree of social change in colonial Latin America. Future area studies should confirm or qualify the universality of social categories and processes at the same time they reveal the unique features of each regional history. The sum total of such research will be an improved understanding of the complex foundations of modern Latin American societies and a clearer notion of continuity between the past and the present.

NOTES

1. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil," chaps. IX and X.

2. Two authors who emphasize conflict are Wanderley Pinho, Um engenho do Recôncavo, and Russell-Wood, Fidalgos and Philanthropists. Works which emphasize common interests in the seventeenth century, the late colonial era, and the nineteenth century, respectively, are: Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil." Kennedy, "Bahian Elites 1750-1822." Eugene W. Ridings, "Elite Conflict and Cooperation in the Brazilian Empire: The Case of Bahia's Businessmen and Planters," Luso-Brazilian Review, XII (summer 1975), 80-99.

3. An understanding of the evolution of the tobacco sector should contribute to a deeper understanding of the formation of a peasantry in the late colonial and national periods. For one discussion of this little-understood process see: Stuart B. Schwartz, "Elite Politics and the Growth of a Peasantry in Late Colonial Brazil," in From Colony to Nations. Essays on the Independence of Brazil, ed. by A.J.R. Russell-Wood (Baltimore and London, 1975), pp. 133-154.

4. See especially: Lockhart, Spanish Peru. David Brading, Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763-1810 (Cambridge, 1971). P. J. Bakewell, Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico. Zacatecas 1446-1700 (London, 1971). William B. Taylor, Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca (Stanford, 1972). Mario Góngora, "Urban Stratification in Colonial Chile," HAHR, LV (August 1975), 421-448. Peter Marzahl, "Creoles and Government: The Cabildo of Popayán," HAHR, LIV (November 1974), 636-656.

5. Lockhart, Spanish Peru, chaps. VI and X. Góngora, "Urban Social Stratification in Colonial Chile," pp. 442-444. Góngora notes that the artisans were less prosperous by the seventeenth century than they had been earlier.

6. See especially: Brading, Miners and Merchants, pp. 95-128. See also: Marzahl, "Creoles and Government," pp. 645, 648, 652. Góngora, "Urban Social Stratification in Colonial Chile," pp. 436-438. Career patterns were slightly different in early colonial Peru: Lockhart, Spanish Peru, pp. 77-95. See also: Susan Migden Socolow, "Economic Activities of the Porteño Merchants: The Viceregal Period," HAHR, LV (February 1975), 1-24.

7. Góngora, "Urban Social Stratification in Colonial Chile," pp. 431-435, 441. Marzahl's analysis of the seventeenth-century elite of Popayán shows a high degree of fluidity, which he attributes to de-

clining encomienda revenues and the slow formation of compact agricultural estates. Marzahl, "Creoles and Government," pp. 639-644, 649. Brading's work on late colonial Mexico describes a continual process of elite replacement marked by the upward movement of peninsular Spaniards who invested their commercial and mining fortunes in land, and the downward mobility of landed families who found the hacienda system to be an unstable economic base. Brading, Miners and Merchants, pp. 19 ff., 209-219, 319-328. See also his "Government and Elite in Late Colonial Mexico," HAHR, LIII (August 1973), 389-414.

APPENDIX 1

TRANSFERS OF SUGAR MILLS, 1684-1725[a]

Transaction	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1686 receipt for sale	water-powered mill in Marape "Bom Jesus"	no slaves no farms one milling obligation (seller sold farm to third party, but obligation transferred to buyer of mill)	21,000 Cr.	Buyer paid debts of seller in near-equal amount	Sale of farm to third party and terms of payment suggest estate fragmented and sold under duress
1688 ratif. of sale of 1684	water-powered mill in Paripe "Crus de Torres"	no slaves no farms 25 tarefas oblig.	23,000 Cr.	Buyer assumes 11,000-Cr. mortgage from earlier sale and debts amounting to 9275 Cr. owed to ten different creditors	Older mill, now at low point; new owner consolidates new mill estate
1698 sale	mill in Cotegipe not milling presently	no slaves one farm no milling obligations	17,500 Cr.	4000 Cr. to be pd. when this year's fleet gathers; nine payments of 1500 Cr. per yr. at time of fleet	Fragmented mill estate; buyer rebuilds plantation

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Transaction	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1698 sale	animal-powered mill in Matoim 18 horses	12 slaves no farms milling obligations from four farms, three of which belong to landed growers and one owned by buyer	28,000 Cr. Adjusted: 25,000 Cr.	Approx. 2000 Cr. cash downpayment; buyer assumes approx. 10,000 Cr. in debts owed to nine different creditors; rest in yearly payments of 1250 Cr. at time of fleet	Apparently healthy mill; family settlement after death original owner
1699 sale	animal-powered mill in Terra Nova Sergipe do Conde, "Agua Boa"	no slaves "some cane planted" no milling obligations	12,000 Cr.	3000 Cr. cash downpayment; four yearly payments of 1250 Cr.; final 3000 Cr. due fifth year or interest begins	New mill estate in process of development; enormous timber stand included to which sellers retain some access
1700 sale	"Bom Jardin"	no slaves one farm in weeds no milling obligations	3,500 Cr.	1000 Cr. downpayment; rest in yearly payments of 250 Cr. beg. in 1703	Fragmented estate; mill changed hands several times recently and last sold at auction

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Trans-action	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1700 sale and family concerto	mill in Jaguaripe "Capanema"	not specified	48,000 Cr.	Transfer of 1/2 interest worth 24,000 Cr. of which 12.000 Cr. was a doação or grant; the remaining 12,000 Cr. pd. as follows: 3000 Cr. in land; 2000 Cr. in cash down; buyer assumes 1000 Cr. in debts; rest in yearly payments at time of fleet	
1701 rental	water-powered mill in Pirajá	23 escravos de serviço one farm one milling obligation	****	Rent of 250 Cr. the first year and 500 Cr. each year thereafter	Widow rents out mill for six years
1705 sale	animal-powered mill in Guahíba "São Miguel" 18 cart oxen 20 milling horses	no slaves four farms, all rented out no milling obligations	47,000 Cr.	Buyer assumed debts amounting to 25,000 Cr. owed to fourteen different creditors; 22,000 Cr. to be pd. in five yearly payments beg. 1706 at time of fleet	Indebtedness probably a factor in sale but seller acquired another mill

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Transaction	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1708 sale	animal-powered mill in Iguape "Sta. Catarina" oxen, horses	50 slaves one farm worked by miller, one farm rented out, and a quarter interest in a third farm no milling obligations	62,000 Cr. Adjusted: 49,500 Cr.	Buyer assumes debts of 32,750 Cr. owed six creditors; rest to be pd. at 4000 Cr. per year beg. 1709 at time of fleet	Buyer perhaps sold this inherited mill to settle debts but mill healthy and seller had other land interests
1708 sale	animal-powered mill in Sergipe do Conde 20 oxen 14 horses	24 slaves one undeveloped sorte attached to mill land recently no milling obligations	39,000 Cr. Adjusted: 33,000 Cr.	Buyer assumes unspecified debts owed to ten different creditors; rest to be pd. in yearly installments	Obviously an estate in process of development; buyer and seller both have other sugar interests
1710 sale	mill in Guahíba beira-mar	26 slaves, ladinos de serviço four farms, all rented out two milling obligations--one in effect while 4000-Cr. debt remains unpaid	55,000 Cr. Adjusted: 48,500 Cr.	Buyer assumes huge debts: 21,000 Cr. owed Santa Casa and approx. 19,000 Cr. owed five creditors; rest in yearly payments to begin in six years	Mill apparently sold to pay debts, but sold before estate fragmented

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Transaction	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1712 sale	water-powered mill in Paripe "Crus de Torres" still 50 head of cattle	2 slaves eight farms all rented out	85,000 Cr. Adjusted: 84,500 Cr.	Buyer pays 2000 Cr. in gold down and promises payment of 25,000 Cr. in June 1713 and rest in yearly payments of 7000 Cr.; all in notes payable in Lisbon	Old mill, new farms added recently; buyer is high court judge
1712 sale	mill in Sergipe do Conde N. S. Monte parish "Pouco Ponto" 17 horses 19 oxen	16 slaves "canefields" no milling obligations	55,000 Cr. Adjusted: 51,000 Cr.	Buyer assumes debts of unspecified total including approx. 17,500 Cr. owed to five different creditors, a series of small debts, and a large obligation to Fiuza brothers; rest in four payments from harvests beg. six yrs. from now	Seller, a widow, says mill "in ruins" and is selling because of indebtedness

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Transaction	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1714 rental	mill on Ilha Maré 10 oxen	10 slaves, escravos de serviço 3 tarefas of cane on mill land milling obligations from three farms	***	rented for six yrs. at 1000 Cr. per yr.	Owner is merchant who resides in city and rents to son of mill owner
1719 rental	water-powered mill in Cotegipe still	14 slaves, escravos de serviço no farms milling obligations from three farms	***	rented for three yrs. at 1500 Cr. per yr.; rent reduced for improvements	Owner is city widow who rents to grower who owns oblig. farms
1719 rental	mill in Sergipe do Conde "Subaé"	none	***	rented for six yrs. at 1400 Cr. per year; rent reduced for improvements	Valuable timber stand included; possibly a new estate
1724 sale	mill in Patatiba	none land in weeds	16,000 Cr.	3000 Cr. due fleet after next; 1000 Cr. yearly thereafter	Mill acquired by Santa Casa for debts; now sold to member Rocha Pita family who rebuilds

APPENDIX 1--continued.

Trans-action	Description of Mill[b]	Slaves, Farms, and Milling Obligations Transferred[c]	Value[d]	Terms of Payment	Remarks
1724 sale and family concerto	mill in Iguape 15 horses	1 slave all cane on mill lands	23,900 Cr. Adjusted: 23,650 Cr.	Approx. 3000 Cr. already pd. cash; buyer assumes obligations totalling balance: approx. 6000 Cr. owed to two creditors; 3000 Cr. and 5000 Cr. as balances owed on two dowries; rest, approx. 6500 Cr., to be held for 3rd dowry	Widow sells healthy mill to son who becomes responsible for dowry promises of three sisters; (one dowry originally 12,000 Cr.)
1725 registry of 1706 sale	water-powered mill in Cachoeira "da Ponta"	29 slaves no farms milling obligations from six farms	80,000 Cr. Adjusted: 72,750 Cr.	Buyer assumes unspecified debts amounting to 25,000 Cr.; rest to be paid at 10,000 Cr. yearly beg. 1708	Transfer within family

[a] These are all of the complete sale and rental contracts involving mills that I found in the notarial registers for this period. However, the books contain countless references to other sales and rentals as well as less complete property histories. Space prohibits the listing of this information. Thus this list should be considered a sampling of the circumstances and terms of mill transfers.

[b] In each case the transfer included the mill itself and the land on which it was situated, usually described as a "sorte de terra com engenho," enclosed pastures (pastos), sometimes a wooded tract (matos), the owner's residence (casa de vivenda), slave quarters (senzalas), optional and varied outbuildings and residences (casa do engenho, casa de purgar, casa da balance, casa do ferreiro, etc), copper vats, forms, and tools.

[c] Here it is important to distinguish between farms, that is cane farms owned by the miller and seller but rented out and by definition obligated to supply the mill concerned, and milling obligations, that is the milling pledges contracted with growers who owned their own farm land. See chap. II.

[d] In general property owners often retained their slaves or they sold them separately and for that reason the number of slaves included in transfers varies widely. To make entries comparable, mill values have been adjusted to exclude slaves where necessary at 250 Cr. per slave.

Sources: APB-SJ: Notas, Capital, Livro 5, 26 Oct 1686, fs. 156v-157. Livro 6, 2 Nov. 1688, fs. 6-8. Livro 12, 1 May 1698, fs. 133v-136; 19 Jun. 1698, fs. 233-236. Livro 15, 21 Jun. 1699, fs. 80v-82v. Livro 16, 10 Aug. 1700, fs. 114-115v; 3 Sep. 1700, fs. 178-181. Livro 18, 6 Jun. 1701, fs. 148v-150v. Livro 21, 8 Jul. 1705, fs. 70v-73. Livro 21A, 3 Jun. 1708, fs. 38v-41; May, 1708, fs. 8-9. Livro 23, 25 Jun. 1710, fs. 262v-267v. Livro 25, 23 May, 1712, fs. 208-210v. Livro 26, 6 Jun. 1712, fs. 40v-44. Livro 30, 17 Jan. 1714, fs. 123v-126. Livro 33, 6 Aug. 1719, fs. 36v-39v; 8 Sep. 1719, fs. 130v-132v. Livro 41, 24 Dec. 1724, fs. 230-233v. Cachoeira, Livro 15, 23 Sep. 1724, fs. 208-212. Livro 16, 26 Sep. 1725, fs. 114v-115v.

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